THE LIFE OF EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON

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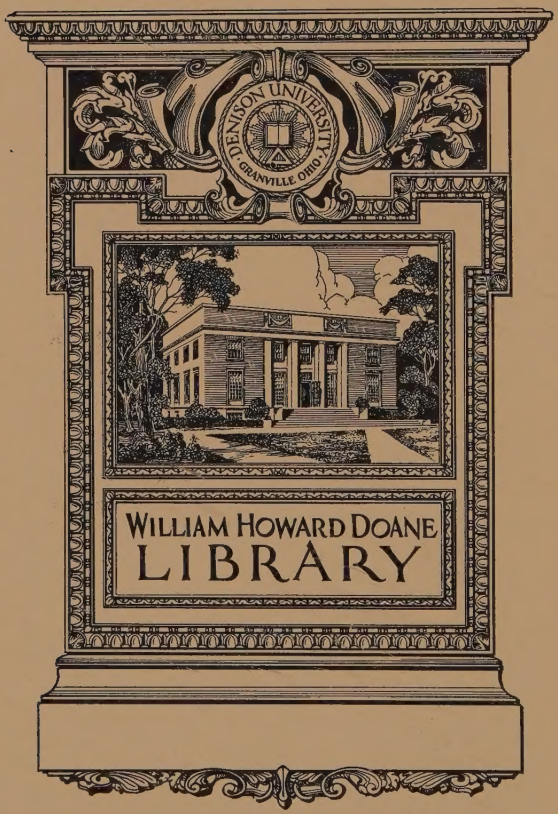

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WITHDRAWN

Emery Walker Ph. sc.

Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon
Lord Chancellor
from the original by Gerard Soest in the National Portrait Gallery

THE LIFE

OF

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND

BY

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WITH PORTRAITS

VOLUME I

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PREFACE

To enter the domain of History by the pathway of Biography is a task beset with peculiar doubts and difficulties. How far is it permissible to stray from the narrow pathway we have chosen, and expatiate upon aspects of the time, which do not fall within the personal experience of him whose life we attempt to pourtray? If we restrict ourselves too much, we move blindfold along an obscure track; if we range too freely, we lose the identity of the single stream we seek to follow amidst a multitude of devious channels. In writing Biography—above all, in writing the Biography of one who has played a large part in the leading transactions of his time—we must build up for ourselves a structure of general history; and, having done so, we must then knock ruthlessly away, like temporary scaffolding, all that is not essential to the personal figure which we attempt to present.

I do not propose to re-write the history of the Civil War and its sequel. I wish only to depict the character, to appreciate the motives, and to investigate the action of one who was a foremost actor in the great struggle, and who left the abiding impress of his hand in shaping its consequences; and to claim for him the honour which he deserves as one of England's great statesmen. I am quite aware that, in so doing, I must dispute the adverse and grudging estimates of those who have condemned and

belittled his work, and of those hardly less unfriendly critics who have given him but faint and lukewarm praise.

The mass of documents that have to be studied, the conflicting accounts, the accumulating evidence that has to be sifted, and the difficulty of making a selection from the ever-increasing volume of testimony, present no inconsiderable task. I do not claim to have unearthed new documents, nor have I sought, from the obscure memorials that remain, to adduce new facts that might rebut existing records. Even to reproduce, in copious annotations, the foundations upon which my narrative is based, would have encumbered my main object, which is, by examining the evidence available, to show to the ordinary reader, how the events of his time presented themselves to Clarendon, how his part in them was justified, and how sound are the reasons for believing that part to be a great one.

I claim for Clarendon that he should be judged, not according to the political ideas of a later day, but according to the notions, the traditions, and, if you will, the prejudices, of his own time. No statesman of any age but will, in time, come to need such allowance.

I am aware that, by some, the biographical aspects of history may be esteemed as but a subsidiary matter, falling beneath the dignity of its more severe domain, and of its larger theories, and foreign to what, in modern jargon, is styled the Science of history. But in the general, and not unsound, judgment of mankind, those aspects can never lose their permanent interest. Above all is that paramount in the case of Clarendon, whose predilection lay, and whose genius was most conspicuously shown, in that sphere.

Amidst the tangled mass, through which we must make our way in order to construct the story, I do not hesitate to declare that I look chiefly to the great record—if we may speak of it as one record—which he has himself left to us. Of the origin and the later completion of that work, and

the somewhat clumsy method by which the Life and the History were amalgamated into one whole, of the divers objects with which the different parts were written, and of the conditions which affect the accuracy and authority of each part, so much has been set forth, with ample knowledge and insight, and with admirable lucidity, by Professor Firth,* that it would be superfluous to discuss them further here. Clarendon wrote part of his great work, in the midst of the struggle, with abundant opportunity for consulting authorities, and with earnest effort to detail with accuracy the events of which he treats. He wrote it primarily as a State paper for the guidance of Statesmen. Another part he wrote, at a far later date, at a distance from authorities, and with the avowed object of leaving a vindication of his action. They were welded together with somewhat doubtful success in the latest years of his life, and when he was a banished man. But of all parts alike we can at least say that no conscious misrepresentation mars the essential truth of his picture; that where he touches lightly upon a special topic, or omits any important episode, it is because it entered but little into his own experience; and that, therefore, for the purposes of the biography, the dramatic record which he has left us is of supreme and all-embracing value. No individual's experience ever covered the whole arena over which the history of his country was developing itself during his lifetime. A man's action is to be judged, and his character is to be estimated, from that portion of the stage which he occupied. That colours the whole for him. From that he judges, and on the basis of that he must frame his own rules of conduct. Minute discrepancies and imperfect knowledge are necessary accompaniments of human judgment. But they do not affect the general honesty of a man's conclusions, nor imply that his verdict on his age was essentially at fault.

* In three articles in the *English Historical Review* for 1904.

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From the original by Gerard Soest, in the National Portrait Gallery
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LIFE OF EDWARD
EARL OF CLARENDON

CHAPTER I

HYDE'S EARLY YEARS

Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon and Lord High Chancellor, was born at Dinton, in Wilts, nine miles from Salisbury,[1] on February 18th, $160\frac{9}{8}$. His father, Henry Hyde, although a younger son, was the scion of a family of long descent, and no small importance, in the county of Cheshire. Henry Hyde's grandfather, Robert Hyde, who died in 1531, possessed the estates of Hyde and Norbury in that county. Of these, the Hyde estate seems to have descended from father to son since the Norman conquest, while that of Norbury was acquired by marriage in the reign of Henry III.[2] The Cheshire estates remained in the family during the Lord Chancellor's life.

Robert Hyde's younger son was Laurence Hyde, who was bred to business in the office of the Auditor of the Exchequer, and was employed in the affairs of Sir John Thynne, an

[1] By a curious slip of memory with regard to a scene so familiar to his childhood, Hyde, in his *Life*, speaks of Dinton as six miles from Salisbury.

[2] This is in accordance with the pedigree given in Ormerod's *History of Cheshire*, but Clarendon's memory again misled him, and in his *Life* he gives Norbury as the older family estate, to which that of Hyde was added by marriage. The name itself would be enough to show that this was an error.

adherent of the Duke of Somerset.[1] But his fortunes were made by a marriage with the wealthy widow of Matthew Calthurst, of Claverton, in Somerset, and her ample jointure largely affected the career of the subject of this biography and of his father. After his marriage, Laurence Hyde found himself able to purchase the considerable estate of West Hatch, in Wilts, some seven miles from Dinton, and there he brought up a large family, all of whom attained to notable positions. Each of his four daughters married landed proprietors of esteem in Wilts. The eldest son, Robert, succeeded to the estate of West Hatch, and had a numerous progeny. Laurence, the second, acquired large practice as a lawyer, and became Attorney-General to Queen Anne of Denmark, the consort of James I. The youngest, Nicholas, became Lord Chief Justice. Pedigrees are proverbially treacherous guides, and we are apt to distrust them when they represent unbroken descents from father to son for five hundred years. But it is proved beyond the possibility of cavil, that the Hyde family was one of respectable and even honourable descent, and that, in point of antiquity of known lineage, it was inferior to few even of the noble families of the seventeenth century.[2] They were a numerous clan, and had struck their roots deep in the soil of their country. They had the further guarantee of strength, that they were linked by a bond of "kindliness" as well as of kinship. Hyde himself records of his grandfather's family that "the great affection between the four brothers and towards their sisters, of whom all enjoyed plenty and

[1] In 1550, Laurence Hyde obtained a grant of land in the neighbourhood of Hindon, near Dinton, from Edward VI. (Hoare's *History of Wilts*).

[2] "The Hydes derived their wealth from being able, through their position as lawyers, to deal advantageously with the lands, parsonages, and tithes of the then recently dissolved religious houses" (*Notes on the Hydes of Wiltshire and Cheshire*, by Mr. J. J. Hammond, of Salisbury, in *Wiltshire Notes and Queries*). Not few of the noble families acquired their wealth from the same source.

contentedness, was very notorious throughout the country, and a credit to them all." No unpleasant picture, it will be admitted, of an English country family in the days of Queen Elizabeth.

We have seen the careers pursued by three of the four sons of Laurence Hyde; but it is with Henry, the third son, that we are most concerned. He was the favourite son of his mother, the wealthy dowager, to whom her husband had bequeathed the greater part of his own estate, while she was also amply endowed, in her own right, by her previous husband. By his father's will, Henry Hyde inherited only an annuity of forty pounds, charged upon the impropriate rectory of Dinton, which belonged to the family,[1] and which Laurence Hyde had left to his widow for her life. Like his brothers Laurence and Nicholas, Henry Hyde was bred for the law, but "he had no mind to its practice." All the four brothers were sent to the University of Oxford; but it was Henry upon whom the studies of the University produced most effect. He was, his son tells us, "a very good scholar"; nor was he ready to restrain that wider range of study for the drudgery of a profession, even though the rewards might be as lucrative as those of the law proved to his brothers. Unlike these brothers, Henry was not content to be confined to those routine careers which suited the conventional tastes and, in a plodding way, had advanced the fortunes of the eminently respectable, but not enterprising, family to which he belonged. He had long "had an inclination to travel beyond the seas." But travelling beyond the seas was no safe matter in the days of Queen Elizabeth, whose subjects often found that the aggressive policy of their Queen did not ensure them a friendly reception in foreign countries. Merchants and

[1] The rectory and advowson of Dinton had before the Reformation belonged to the Benedictine Convent of Shaftesbury. It afterwards belonged to the Hydes, and in 1722 it was assigned by Robert Hyde, D.C.L., of West Hatch, to Magdalen College, Oxford, to which it still belongs.

soldiers were almost the only classes who ventured abroad; and the Hyde tradition pointed neither to commerce nor the sword. Weak health was the excuse by which Henry Hyde obtained his mother's consent to his going to Spa, and from there he was able to extend his travels further. He journeyed through Germany, into Italy; stayed at Florence and Vienna, and even abode for a time at Rome. Rome was a forbidden dwelling-place for Elizabeth's subjects. They went there against the orders of their Queen, and were not unlikely to feel the weight of her suspicion when they returned. And even if they dared to neglect her orders, they had to expect no friendly reception from those they met in Rome. But Hyde had all the family shrewdness and caution, and he had a good friend and protector in Cardinal Allen—"the last English cardinal." He returned safe and sound to England, even from the hostile Rome of Sixtus V.

His mother now found that the wanderings of her favourite son had lasted long enough, and that it was time for him to marry and settle. He had satisfied the desire of a livelier fancy than inspired his brothers, by a modicum of travel, and now the homing instinct of his family reasserted its force. His mother added material inducements. Not only did she resign to him her own life-interest in the rectory of Dinton, but she purchased from his brother Laurence the life-interest in that rectory for the life of Henry and his wife; and upon this provision, and the hopes of his mother's further bounty, Henry secured the hand of an heiress belonging to an important county family in Wilts—Mary, the daughter of Edward Langford, of Trowbridge. His experience of foreign parts did not disqualify Henry Hyde for playing his part as a country gentleman at home. He settled down at Dinton, and his character and capacity, cultivated by scholarship and enlarged by other scenes, enabled him to exercise an unusual influence in his neighbourhood. With due allowance

for filial affection, we may accept the description of his son—

"He lived . . . with great cheerfulness and content . . . being a person of great knowledge and reputation, and of so great esteem for integrity, that most persons near him referred all matters of contention and difference which did arise amongst them to his determination: by which that part of the country lived in more peace and quietness than many of their neighbours."

In the reign of Elizabeth, he served in Parliament on several occasions, so that his life was not entirely a private one. But after the Queen's death, he never again returned to London:—

"And his wife, who was married to him above forty years, never was in London in her life: the wisdom and frugality of that time being such, that few gentlemen made journeys to London, or any other expensive journeys, but upon important business, and their wives never: by which providence they enjoyed and improved their estates in the country, and kept good hospitality in their houses, brought up their children well, and were beloved by their neighbours."[1]

In these words Hyde not only gives us a vivid picture of the quaint life that these squires and their dames led in the days of the great Queen: the sunlit memory of a happy home also fell brightly on the page as he wrote.

That home, where Henry Hyde lived "with great cheerfulness and content," was at the little village of Dinton, nestling in the valley, on the left hand of the old high-road, which then ran on the top of the ridge, from Salisbury to Exeter. From that high-road steep pack-roads plunge down into the valley, between high overhanging rocks, topped by trees; and at their foot lies the village, with its thirteenth-century church, in outward aspect much as it must have

[1] Clarendon, *Life*, i. 5.

been when Edward Hyde spent his childhood there. The dominant note of the whole landscape is peacefulness: the quiet of lush meadows lying just below the village, with undulating arable land beyond, and farther the belts and clumps of thick foliage, with the wide-stretching downs above. England has no softer and gentler aspect, and none, perhaps, which has altered less in the three hundred years that have passed since Hyde was born. With no outstanding feature, the church is a goodly specimen of a fine period of Gothic architecture, and is one of which the village may well be proud. The interior has suffered, like so many of its brethren, from banal restoration; but there still remain some fragments of very beautiful old glass, which must have been more abundant when Hyde was there as a boy: the old thirteenth-century font, where he was christened on the 23rd of February, 1609; and some replicas of brasses which told of members of the Hyde family buried there, the originals of which have disappeared under some vandal hand.

No record or tradition fixes with certainty the situation of Henry Hyde's house, and the birthplace of his famous son. A yew tree some hundred yards south-west of the present rectory was said by tradition to mark the site, but it was cut down by an iconoclastic vicar early in last century. We may, perhaps, not unreasonably maintain that Henry Hyde resided in the rectory itself, and that it was on the site of the present rectory that the future Chancellor was born. There are solid grounds for the belief. The present rectory was rebuilt about 1760 by a vicar who had been a Fellow of Magdalen, and who introduced into the façade reminiscences of the back quadrangle of that college. But it embraces some old buildings, of an extent and solidity which hardly seem suitable for an ordinary village rectory. There is particularly a massive culverhouse, or pigeon-house, which was more in keeping with the abode of the landed squire than

of the landless parson. We have to remember, also, the notable fact that from the earliest time until now the curious arrangement has always prevailed at Dinton, that the Rectory House did not go with the benefice, but is the exclusive property of the lay rector, to whom the vicar still pays a nominal rent. What more likely than that Henry Hyde, as lay rector, occupied his own house, and allowed the vicar, his own nominee and the tutor of his sons, to live in the so-called Church House, a substantial building in the churchyard, which only a generation ago was still tenanted, and which is now crumbling into ruins? We like to give local habitations to cherished memories, and shall continue to believe that Edward Hyde played about the culverhouse, and wandered about these ample granaries, until proof is shown to the contrary. Within a few yards, at least, we can fix his birthplace.

It is but trifling to waste time in searching out the local surroundings throughout the life of a busy man, and in attempting the vain and fanciful task of tracing the impressions he may have drawn from them. With no one would such an attempt be more ridiculous than with Clarendon.[1] But it is not fanciful to conclude that a scene and surroundings such as those amidst which Clarendon's childhood was passed were not without effect in shaping his temperament and character. Dinton reflected, at its best, the peace and restfulness of English country life, which he always loved. Close above it passed the great thoroughfare to the west, where the boy could see the passing of a world larger than his own, of whose wonders he would hear from the father who had been travelling while his more conventional brethren

[1] Being fairly familiar with the great mass of Hyde's writings, I have attempted, in vain, to recall a single sentence in which he describes a scene in nature, any incident in which such a scene plays any part, or even any epithet, or any metaphor, which proves him to have had any vivid sense of natural scenery or of its dramatic elements.

had been plodding at the law. That father was a leader and a guide to the neighbourhood, and all around him were scattered happy homes of his relations where young Hyde would always be a welcome guest. The venerable and stately church lay at his door, and its lessons were enforced by the personal belief and ardent devotion of his father, who found in the creed and ritual of the Church of England a type to which his experiences at Rome had made him doubly attached. Within a few miles was Salisbury, his constant and familiar resort—fittest type of the chaste beauty and ordered symmetry of the Church of which he was to be so notable a champion. Surely no other spot in England, and no other surroundings, could have inspired the boy Edward Hyde with deeper love for the ordered ways and seemly life of the best type of the English country gentleman, or linked that life more closely with the stately ritual of the Church, and the dignified and hallowed beauty of her surroundings. Hyde's boyhood breathed the very atmosphere of the squire's Hall and the parson's vicarage—both at their best.[1]

But the best and strongest influence on his life as a boy was that of his father, to whom he owed most of his early education. Hyde was no product of the public school. He was brought up at home; and although he was under the charge of the vicar, to whom his father had given the presentation, and who, although he had always been a schoolmaster, was "of very indifferent parts,"[2] he was chiefly trained "by the care and conversation of his father." That father was, as his son tells us, "omnifariam doctus," and,

[1] It is worth noting that Henry Lawes, the musician, friend of Milton and of Waller, was born at Dinton some dozen years before Edward Hyde. It is at least likely that the seemliness of the services in Dinton Church, which now contains an organ in memory of Lawes, owed much to the genius of this young musician. An elder brother, William, also a musician, joined the Royalist forces, and was killed in 1645 by a chance shot.

[2] *Life*, i. 6.

with his help, Hyde was found to be fit for the University at thirteen years of age.

Cheerful and contented as Henry Hyde was, his life had not been free from sorrow. His eldest and his youngest sons, Laurence and Nicholas, had both died in infancy. Henry, the second son, had proceeded to Oxford, but his career there was not entirely satisfactory, and he died at the age of twenty-six.[1] But between the father and his third son, Edward, there was the warmest affection and intimacy, and Henry Hyde lived long enough to know that the care he had spent upon that son's training was not thrown away.

Hyde was taught from the first that "he had to make his fortune by his own industry," however much prosperous relations might smooth the way. He was at first destined for Holy Orders, and with that view he went to Oxford in 1622.

Helpful as the family influence might be, the engine of patronage did not at first work very smoothly for young Hyde. It was not uncommon for a royal letter to be sent to the College authorities,[2] directing the election to the foundation of any favoured youth. Such a letter was written on behalf of Hyde to the President of Magdalen; but "upon pretence that the letter came too late, though the election had not yet begun,"[3] he was not chosen. He remained at Magdalen Hall, under the sound tuition of Mr. John Oliver, "a scholar of eminency." It is

[1] Clarendon tells us that when he himself went to Oxford, the discipline was bad, "the custom of drinking being too much introduced and practised;" and he adds that "his elder brother having been too much corrupted in that kind, and so having, at his first coming, given him some liberty, at least some example, towards that license." This may have been the first cause of the extreme disgust with which Clarendon, like his master, Charles I., always regarded that vice.

[2] Curiously enough, it was by Royal Dispensation, conveyed through Clarendon, that Locke was enabled to hold his studentship at Christ Church without taking Holy Orders.

[3] Clarendon, *Life*, i. 7. The injury evidently rankled long in the Chancellor's breast, because these words were written in 1670.

interesting to note that forty years later, after Oliver had endured the troubles in store for a "malignant" under Cromwell, he was restored to the Presidency of Magdalen College, in 1660, and next year became Dean of Worcester by the appointment of his former pupil, then Lord Chancellor. But the authorities of Magdalen College were not allowed long to lurk under excuses for not obeying the royal mandate. The President duly received "reprehension" from Lord Conway, as Secretary of State, for the previous neglect, and the omission was repaired—more, it would seem, in appearance than reality—by Hyde's being chosen for the first vacant demyship; but as no vacancy occurred within a year, Hyde was none the better for the empty compliment. Before he was settled at Magdalen College, a change came over his prospects. His elder brother was to be trained for the law. He had been destined for the Church; but the death of that elder brother—whether hastened by his libations or not—now altered his father's plans. Edward was now to be trained for the law, and he was accordingly entered as a student of the Middle Temple by his uncle, Nicholas Hyde, afterwards Lord Chief Justice, and now Treasurer of the Inn. Owing to the plague in London he did not at once join the Inn of Court, but spent the year partly at his father's house, and partly at the University, where he took his degree. He then quitted Oxford (as he tells us with that refreshing candour that puts lights and shadows equally into his own portraiture, and that does not even omit a touch of well-developed self-complacency) "rather with the opinion of a young man of parts and pregnancy of wit, than that he had improved it much by industry." It is a source of never-failing comfort when we can persuade ourselves that mother-wit has had more influence in our career than plodding industry. In retrospect Hyde laid some blame for his own laziness upon the laxity of University

rule: "The discipline of that time," he writes, "was not so strict as it hath been since, and as it ought to be." We do not often find a man, in after-reminiscences, regretting that he had not been driven in youth with a tighter rein. But we must not forget Clarendon's profound contempt for the brutish vice of drunkenness, and his disgust at slovenly manners, and the habits of the taproom—too often visible in the Oxford coteries of the day. It is permissible to fancy that, in these words, he was reflecting upon the University as a school of manners quite as much as a school of morals. It was perhaps with sarcastic reference to the grossness not uncommon in the Oxford of his time, rather than in regret for its lack of moral edification, that he deemed it to be a fortunate circumstance for himself that his father removed him early from its influence. But he is good enough to add, that for his *alma mater* he always reserved a "high esteem."

It was not till near the end of 1625 that he went, with his uncle the Treasurer, to London to begin his studies, being then in his seventeenth year. But his plans were again upset. On the very evening of his arrival, when he was attending prayers in the Temple Church, he was seized with illness, which proved to be the beginning of a severe attack of ague, that long held him in its grip. He was obliged to quit London, and to recover his health he went to his father's new home at Pirton,[1] in Wilts, some four miles from Swindon. His father had now quitted Dinton, where he held only a life interest in his house, and had settled on the land which he had purchased some time before at Pirton.

[1] Pirton, Pyreton, or Purton, as it is now spelt (the name is said to be derived from *pirus*, and to signify a pear-orchard), is a village a few miles from Swindon. The College Farm, which is said to have been Henry Hyde's house, and to have been the birth-place of Anne Hyde, afterwards Duchess of York, is a well-preserved structure of fine architecture, now occupied as a farm-house. It contains two beautifully carved oak fire-places, one of them with the arms of Henry Hyde's mother's family. A little apart from the village there is a group of cottages, still called "The Hyde"—a name which also marks a coppice near the village of Dinton.

While young Hyde was laid aside by illness, from which he did not recover for nearly a year, his uncle Nicholas was made Lord Chief Justice in succession to Sir Randolph Crew, who was intractable on the subject of the legality of levying taxes without the authority of Parliament, and in regard to the right of the Crown to imprison recusants. Sir Nicholas owed his advancement to the Duke of Buckingham (the brilliant favourite whose career was now so near its close), and its price was, no doubt, a dutiful compliance with the behests of the Crown. The new Chief Justice was a painstaking, but not a distinguished; lawyer. Whether from conviction of the justice of the Crown's contention, or from pliability, he did not rival the stubbornness of Crew; but he was cautious enough to give no opinion until he had an opportunity of consulting his colleagues, and compelling them to share the responsibility of his judicial decisions. He was a useful tool, but not a courageous ally; of arbitrary power. In manner he was reserved and surly, and had none of that dignity of mien or that social tact which his famous nephew cultivated so carefully, and for which he was, perhaps, in some degree indebted to the fashionable companions of his more wayward hours.

The enforced leisure of a year had not improved Hyde's habits of application, and his time, when he once more resumed his legal studies in London, was occupied rather with the gay society round him than with the mysteries of the law. The Inns of Court still retained much of the character they had during the reigns of Elizabeth and her predecessors. They were then the resort of many of the younger sons of the great nobles, who went there with no purpose of practice, but only to learn something of the law, and who brought with them habits of luxury and lavish expense. In the days of Charles I. this was still to some extent the custom, as Hyde's experience proved. With

edifying misgivings, he recalled in later years the dangers he ran from the frivolous and profligate society into which he was thrown, composed largely of wealthy idle men, and of those soldiers of fortune who alternated service in France and the Spanish Netherlands with long bouts of idleness at home; but his misgivings were always mingled with a shrewd estimate of the value of that knowledge of the world that he had thereby gained. "When he did indulge himself in the liberty, it was without any signal debauchery, and not without some hours every day, at least every night, spent amongst his books." So Hyde writes long years afterwards, with no vein of morbid self-condemnation—to which, indeed, he was not addicted—and the reminiscence proves that even as a youth he had that strongest element of will that knows how to set a limit to self-indulgence short of ascetic abstinence. The experience might be a risky one, but it was no bad training for one whose destiny was to lead him into many quicksands, and bring him into contact with many unscrupulous knaves, that he should thus early see something of Alsatia and make the acquaintance of her denizens. Neither these, nor any early lessons, made Hyde an astute time-server, or taught him dexterity in manipulating the characters of his fellow-men to his own purposes. Only later and hardly-bought experience was to teach him to fathom the depths of human knavery. But he did learn now that bold and wholesome self-confidence, and that readiness to view life with well-balanced perspicacity, that proved helpful to the boy in his teens, and were to sustain the man throughout the perplexing episodes of a singularly chequered career. A wholesome dread of his uncle, the Chief Justice, kept his idleness within bounds. Almost every night the old judge propounded to him a case in law, and young Hyde had to abstract sufficient time from his pleasures to prepare a thesis upon it. Perhaps

we may trace the promise of that power of quick concentration that was to serve Hyde in after-years, when, amidst the clash of civil war, he had to ply his practised pen under compulsion of another sort, and when the business was of a more serious kind than the concocting of replies to legal problems that would pass muster before his legal Mentor. But these exercises, however dutifully performed, claimed comparatively little of young Hyde's attention. What leisure his boon companions allowed him was given mostly to literature and to history, and but little to the musty conundrums of the law.

In 1628, it was arranged between his father and Sir Nicholas that the youth should ride the Norfolk circuit with his uncle. Such journeys were rightly esteemed as an admirable school for acquiring knowledge of the different counties—separated from one another by distinctions of usages and manners which it is hard for us to realize; and in long subsequent days Hyde regretted that he had had so few opportunities for carrying them out.[1] In this case there was the additional inducement of escaping from London, then invaded by an epidemic of small-pox. But the "riding" lasted but a short time, and young Hyde was struck down at Cambridge by a virulent attack of the very disease which he left London to escape. The seizure was so severe that for some time his life was despaired of, and his friends and the physician "consulted of nothing but the place and manner of his burial." He lay ill for a month, and then had once more to return to his father's house at Pirton for a long period of convalescence. Such was one of the most dread scourges of pre-Harveyan days!

Once more he renewed that reading with his father from which he had gained so much in earlier days. It was on an August day in 1628 that he and his father were reading

[1] *Life*, i. 32.

a passage in Camden's *Annals*,[1] where the historian of London tells how a certain "John Felton" had been detected in the act of affixing the papal Bull to the doors of the Bishop of London's palace, when they were interrupted by a knock at the door. Their visitor told them that a post had just passed through the village, carrying to the Earl of Berkshire at Charleton the news that the Duke of Buckingham had been assassinated the day before[2] at Portsmouth by one "John Felton."

The death of the all-powerful favourite produced a sudden change in the public atmosphere. The excitement of foreign wars soon ended. Things settled down into a more humdrum course. Those mutations, which held the "spirits of young men at gaze," died down, and Hyde returned soon to London, apparently with the edifying resolution to keep his attention more concentrated on the steady pursuit of his profession.

But something else soon happened, still more fitted to "call home all straggling and wandering appetites." Hyde tells us, in a curious vein of sarcasm against himself, that his first inclination to marriage "had no other passion in it than an appetite to a convenient estate." Perhaps his retrospect was scarcely just to his own early romance. But, however

[1] The passage quoted by Clarendon (*Life*, i. p. 11) is taken from the Second Part of the Latin version of Camden's *Annals of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, published in 1615, the English translation of that part not being published till 1629. It refers to the bold action taken, in 1570, by John Felton, an ardent Roman Catholic, of ancient lineage and great wealth, in resistance to the Queen's defiance of the Pope. His high position did not save him from the torture of the rack, and from being hanged. The coincidence of names is curious, no less than the fortuitous incident mentioned by Clarendon. The first John Felton's family belonged to Norfolk, and that of his later namesake to Suffolk. The first Felton was held to have suffered justly, although his action harmed no one, and his courage and sincerity were indubitable. The second was an obscure and crazy fanatic, who nursed some petty grievance of his own, and was guilty of a dastardly murder. He was exempt from torture; and when he was justly hanged, the populace acclaimed him as a martyr.

[2] August 24th, Bartholomew Day.

prompted, he now formed an attachment, approved by both families, for the daughter of Sir George Ayliffe, a Wiltshire gentleman of high rank and good fortune.[1] In 1629 they were married, and the prospect before the young couple seemed a bright one. But before six months were gone, as they were journeying from London to Pirton, the young bride fell sick of small-pox at Reading, and died in two days. For one of Hyde's temperament, the blow was a crushing one, and the words with which he recalls his loss in long after-years may perhaps justify us in concluding that the memory of this his first love was never effaced by new attachments, and that it rested upon a stronger foundation than selfishness and expediency. "It shook all the frame of his resolutions," he tells us, and only his duty to his father kept him from abandoning his profession and going abroad "to enjoy his own melancholy." But Hyde's innate courage never allowed him to indulge the morbid fancies of hypochondria too long; and he checked that wandering instinct which he had perhaps inherited from his father. Once more a stalwart will was called into play to force him to pursue his path. For a time he seems to have remained at Pirton, but before long he was again in London, disciplining himself for the work of his profession, and finding in it perhaps distraction, if not some solace, in his grief.

His position in that profession was now seriously altered. He was no longer to trust to the powerful patronage of a Lord Chief Justice. Old Sir Nicholas's career lasted only

[1] Through his first wife, Hyde became connected with the Villiers family and the Dukes of Buckingham. The earliest writing of his which we possess is a tract on *The Difference and Disparity between the Estate and Condition of George, Duke of Buckingham, and Robert, Earl of Essex*, printed amongst Reliquiæ Wottonianæ (1675), and said to be "written by the Earl of Clarendon in his younger days." The comparison is between the favourites of Elizabeth and of James I. It gives to Buckingham the high praise due from his young kinsman by marriage, and although the style is involved, unpolished, and in some ways youthful, it contains quaint and striking turns of expression, and has features like the author's later prose.

a short time after his nephew's widowhood. In the summer of 1631,[1] he was carried off by gaol fever—that dread scourge that spared neither judge nor malefactor. Hyde had now to make his way alone. Not only had he lost the uncle whose protection seemed to promise him a safe professional career, but his uncle's great patron, Buckingham, was dead; and the young lawyer had now only the help of a moderate competence, of a family highly respected, and of a character which joined, to keen ambition and fundamental strength of will, a lively interest in the society round him, and a wondrous skill of steering his bark amidst its quicksands. His legal studies never commanded his real interest; but perhaps they were now pursued with greater zeal and with an object more serious than that of providing answers to his uncle's hypothetical legal problems.

In 1632, after three years of widowhood, he had so far recovered from his bereavement as to form a new attachment. His choice was now fixed upon Frances, daughter of Sir Thomas Aylesbury, who had formerly been Secretary to the Duke of Buckingham, and was now Master of the Mint, as well as judge in the court in which Hyde was practising. The marriage, in all respects a prudent one, received, like his first, the cordial approval of both families, and Hyde was warmly welcomed by his new father-in-law as one to whom he was glad to entrust his daughter. Both families were of competent means, and once more the prospect of a happy married life was promised to Hyde. His new wife was his faithful life-companion: she shared all the vicissitudes of fortune with him, and death broke the tie only a few weeks before the Chancellor's fall in 1667. Of his family life Hyde speaks with a warmth and a gratitude that

[1] Hyde in his *Life* mentions his uncle's death as if it had occurred in 1629; but it was really two years later.

are evidently sincere. But the memory of his first love did not die.

The happiness of Hyde's new married life was soon disturbed by another loss. We have seen how close was the tie between himself and his father. A few months after his marriage, he brought his wife to his father's house; but already Henry Hyde's health was broken. He had for some time suffered from a serious cardiac trouble.[1] He was subject to seizures of violent pain, but in the intervals recovered all that happy equanimity which had endeared him to a wide circle of friends. Just before Michaelmas Day, 1632, he came to Salisbury, where he proposed to reside, in order to be close to the Cathedral, to the service of which he was lovingly attached, and in order to renew his intercourse with many friends who lived there. The next day he received a host of callers, come to bid him welcome. On the day following (Sunday) he rose early and went to "two or three churches:" selected a place of burial at the Cathedral, which he described to his wife and son, enjoining them to see that he was buried there. Later in the day he attended the Cathedral sermon, and engaged in cheerful conversation with friends. On Monday he went to visit his elder brother, Sir Laurence Hyde,[2] and leaving him again went to church. Immediately after, he had one of his usual seizures, and

[1] My friend, Dr. Norman Moore, whose literary interests open a still wider range to his professional qualifications, informs me that the disease of which Henry Hyde died was *angina pectoris*. In his *Life* (i. 78) Clarendon describes his father's symptoms in some detail, especially a frequently recurring pain. From the age of sixty, it increased very much. "He was still and constantly seized on by so sharp a pain in the left arm for half a quarter of an hour, or near so much, that the torment made him as pale (whereas he was otherwise of a very sanguine complexion) as if he were dead; and he used to say that he had passed the pangs of death, and he should die in one of those fits. As soon as it was over he was the cheerfullest man living . . . but he had the image of death so constantly before him in those continual torments, that for many years before his death he always parted with his son as to see him no more."

[2] "Who was then making a journey in the service of the King" (Clarendon, *Life*, i. 20).

dropped down dead, without the least motion of any limb.[1]

"It cannot be expressed," says Hyde himself, "with what agony his son bore this loss, having, as he was used to say, not only lost the best father, but the best friend and the best companion he ever had or could have."

In the days of Hyde's greatness, the memory of his parents did not grow weaker. "He did not value any honour he had so much as the being the son of such a father and mother." In the formal days of the seventeenth century, it is not often that we meet with a bond between father and son so full of reverence, and, at the same time, of cordial companionship and sympathy.

Hyde was now nearly twenty-four years of age, and had been called to the Bar two or three years before. Responsibility and ambition alike quickened his industry, and one incident after another gave him opportunity, which he was apt to turn to the best use, of cultivating relations with the larger world. For this he was now fitting himself (in spite of those

[1] "The suddenness of it," says Clarendon, "made it apprehended to be an apoplexy: but there being nothing like convulsions, or the least distortion or alteration in the visage, it is not like to be from that cause: nor could the physicians make any reasonable guess from whence that mortal blow proceeded."

For the following note I am again indebted to Dr. Norman Moore:—

"Dr. William Heberden, in his Commentaries published in 1802, but written some years earlier, first described this disease (for a sentence in Cælius Aurelianus is too indefinite to be considered a description) accurately. He had seen nearly one hundred people with this disorder, and mentions one case almost exactly like that of Clarendon's father.

"A man in the sixtieth year of his life began to feel, while he was walking, an uneasy sensation in his left arm. He never perceived it while he was travelling in a carriage. After it had continued ten years, it would come upon him two or three times a week at night, while he was in bed, and then he was obliged to sit up for an hour or two before it would abate so much as to suffer him to lie down. He died suddenly without a groan at the age of seventy-five." Dr. Arnold of Rugby, and Sir Charles Bell, the discoverer of the motor and sensory nerves, both died of this disease. It is now known to be associated with disease of the aortic valves, with degeneration of the commencement of the aorta, and with obstruction and degeneration of the coronary arteries of the heart."

more wayward and dangerous associations, to the peril of which he looked back in later years with thankfulness for risks only just avoided), by carefully cherishing every chance of intercourse with what was most worth cultivating in the circle amidst which he lived. One of the most solid foundations of his power was that genius for friendship which was so eminently his. As for his political opinions, we may take it that they were now of no very decided complexion; and one so shrewd as he was not likely, amidst the shifting phases of the world around him, to pronounce them with undue emphasis. His uncle, as we have seen, had prevailed with his conscience to frame his legal decisions on the lines acceptable to the Court, and in accordance with the prevailing views of the supremacy of royal prerogative; but if the story told by Burnet as to his father's last injunctions to him be true, any such leanings on the part of young Hyde must have been more than balanced by his father's suggestion that the prerogative might be stretched too far.[1] Politics will only too soon assume a dominant place in the story of Hyde's life. For the present it is more pleasant to trace the early friendships, the memory of which lived with him to the end, and which he has painted for us with the master hand of an artist.

The first group of acquaintances is that in which he found himself one of its youngest members, and consisted of men who had either achieved their fame, or were pursuing careers

[1] According to Burnet's story (*History of His Own Times*, i. 159), Clarendon in later years used to trace his own attachment "to the ancient liberties of England, as well as to the rights of the Crown," to advice given him by his father just before his death. "That men of his profession did often stretch law and prerogative, to the prejudice of the liberty of the subject, to recommend and advance themselves: so he charged him, if he ever grew to any eminence in his profession, that he should never sacrifice the laws and liberties of his country to his own interests, or to the will of a prince." Burnet says he had the story from Lady Ranelagh, to whom it was often told by Clarendon. Burnet is mistaken as to the circumstances of Henry Hyde's death; but this does not disprove the truth of the advice.

which were soon to draw them apart from sympathy with Hyde. His intercourse with them belonged to the days when he was only a student of law, and when "he stood at gaze, irresolute what course of life to take." Chief amongst them stood Ben Jonson. It was very soon after Hyde's arrival in London as a boy of seventeen, that Jonson was overtaken by the scourges of palsy and dropsy, which made him but a shadow of what he once had been. The old days of the 'Mermaid Tavern,' which had seen the colloquies of Shakespeare and Jonson, were now long past. But Ben Jonson still reigned supreme, in spite of all the attacks of envenomed enemies, and after the storm of a hundred bitter fights, as the dictator of the English literary world; and the 'Old Devil Tavern' at Temple Bar was the home of that Apollo Club which he had founded, and there the Latin rules which he had drafted were displayed for the guidance of all novices, who aspired to be inscribed as the adopted sons of the old Laureate, and to be "sealed of the tribe of Ben." Young Hyde could scarcely have been more than an obscure attendant at these convivialities, and perhaps his estimate of Ben Jonson's powers is the result rather of later formed judgment than the impressions of these early meetings.[1] But it must have been much to the boy to see one who had been the friend of Shakespeare and of Bacon, and whose patronage was now sufficient to open to the young aspirant the most exclusive circles of the poets and the wits. It was no small boast that he had met "with extraordinary kindness" from such an arbiter of taste. But the dictator

[1] Recalling these days in his own *Life*, in 1668, Clarendon's judgment of Ben Jonson is that of a mature intellect, not of a boy. "His name," he says, "can never be forgotten, having by his very good learning and the severity of his nature and manners, very much reformed the stage, and indeed the English poetry itself. His natural advantages were, judgment to order and govern fancy, rather than excess of fancy, his productions being slow and upon deliberation, yet then abounding with great wit and fancy, and will live accordingly," and so on (*Life*, i. 34).

accepted nothing but absolute allegiance. "Mr. Hyde's business had its claims upon his time," and Jonson "believed that business ought never to be preferred before his company."

Another of the group was Selden—wisest, most learned, most fastidious, most judicial, most moderate, and yet most baffling of all who took part in the troublous sea of civil contention. Most calm of revolutionaries; most temperate of iconoclasts; one who would have based all innovations upon some historical theory, and would have reformed the Church in the light of patristic learning. Again and again in later years, Hyde was to turn to that unique figure of unruffled calm, and find it hard to reconcile his choice of party with his well-balanced judgment and with that absolute sincerity which Hyde had learned to appreciate to the full. When he is arguing for the rights of the Church, and for the fundamental importance of its episcopal government, he can understand the opposition of the vulgar herd of lawyers, but the estrangement of the truly learned lawyers —of "the knowing and discerning men" amongst them—he cannot explain.[1] We cannot doubt that throughout all that elaborate pleading, he has Selden in view, and is vainly trying to find a reason for the divergence which was drawing them so far and so painfully apart. His words, telling of their early friendship, which brought him, a youth in his teens, under the influence of a man his senior by a quarter of a century, and already a sufferer for his bold maintenance of constitutional rights, are strong enough to show the amazing influence which Selden must have exercised upon him, then, and, in spite of all differences, in far later years.

"Mr. Selden was a person whom no character can flatter, or transmit in any expressions equal to his merit and virtue. He was of so stupendous learning in all kinds and in all languages (as may appear in his excellent and transcendent

[1] *History of the Rebellion*, iv. 40.

writings) that a man would have thought he had been entirely conversant amongst books, and never spent an hour but in reading and writing; yet his humanity, courtesy, and affability, was such, that he would have been thought to have been bred in the best courts, but that his good nature, charity, and delight in doing good, and in communicating all he knew, exceeded that breeding. His style in all his writings seems harsh and somewhat obscure, which is not wholly to be imputed to the abstruse subjects of which he commonly treated, out of the path trod by other men; but to a little undervaluing the beauty of a style, and too much propensity to the language of antiquity; but in his conversation he was the most clear discourser, and had the best faculty of making hard things easy, and presenting them to the understanding, of any man that hath been known. Mr. Hyde was wont to say that he valued himself upon nothing more than upon having had Mr. Selden's acquaintance from the time he was very young, and held it with great delight as long as they were suffered to continue together in London; and he was much troubled always when he heard him blamed, censured, and reproached, for staying in London, and in Parliament, after they were in rebellion, and in the worst times, which his age obliged him to do; and how wicked soever the actions which were every day done, he was confident he had not given his consent to them, but would have hindered them if he could with his own safety, to which he was always enough indulgent. If he had some infirmities with other men, they were weighed down with wonderful and prodigious abilities and excellencies in the other scale." [1]

It is a generous, almost a lavish, tribute of praise, in spite of the hint of sarcasm against that weakness in Selden which made him a feeble combatant in an age that called for fighting men.[2] We cannot doubt that, whatever had been the tenor of his father's precepts, it was to Selden that Hyde owed, not only the dominant note of moderation that clung

[1] *Life*, i. 35.

[2] "He was always a lover of his ease," says Hyde again, in the *History of the Rebellion*, Book V. p. 209.

to his whole scheme of policy, but also that historic sense, and that reverence for institutions as a part of the life of the nation, which from first to last shaped and inspired that scheme. Hyde was cast in stronger mould than Selden; his courage was keener, his heart was stouter, and, with warmer feelings, his anger was more easily roused. But the gentle courtesy and the well-balanced judgment of the cultured scholar remained with him as a guide and an example throughout his life.

There were others of the circle who had no such potent influence on Hyde, but served to introduce him to another phase of society, and gave him new subjects for that study of human character in which he was to prove himself such an adept. Such were Charles Cotton and Thomas Carew, both scions of good family, who added to a lively wit, and to a superstructure of learning more imposing than solid, the graces that were the fashion in a society of studied courtesy and grace. They both aspired to be finished gentlemen according to the ideas of the day; facile votaries of an artificial muse; and esteemed it an added ornament to a courtier's life, to be counted of the inner circle of men of letters and scholarship. Of Cotton—whose son has earned a more enduring name as the friend and collaborator of Izaak Walton—Hyde speaks with indulgent kindness.

"He had all those qualities which in youth raise men to the reputation of being fine gentlemen: such a pleasantness and gaiety of humour, such a sweetness and gentleness of nature, and such a civility and delightfulness in conversation, that no man in the Court appeared a more accomplished person; all these extraordinary qualifications being supported by as extraordinary a clearness of courage and fearlessness of spirit, of which he gave too often manifestations."

It gives us a bright glimpse of a blithe spirit; but one ill-assorted with the coming times of strain and struggle.

Under the waves of civil struggle the graceful and polished courtier was submerged; his age was less reverenced than his youth, and he "gave his best friends cause to wish that he had not lived so long."[1] Carew, like Cotton, fluttered about the Court, as a choice specimen of the literary dandy, and, like him, knew how to make the pursuit of the muses add another accomplishment to the equipment of the fine gentleman; but he at least contributed, as Cotton did not, a few jewels of sound quality to the treasures of English poetry. In learning to value the sharpness of a fancy like his, and the dexterous elegance of his poetic diction, Hyde gained a new ingredient, which was to swell the music of his own deep-sounding organ.

Amongst that memorable circle there was one—almost Hyde's own contemporary—who even thus early had achieved notable fame,—the fame of a doughty soldier, of a finished courtier, of an accomplished man of letters. Sir Kenelm Digby's extraordinary personal qualities helped him, the son of one who had died a felon's death for participation in the gunpowder plot, to overcome all difficulties, to hold his own amongst the proudest aristocrats, and to astonish the world by his amazing versatility. He was the choice example of the travelled courtier of the day, familiar with every country in Europe, affecting a proud catholicity of taste, fostering a dignified, if somewhat flamboyant, pride, by all the arts that could add ornament to life. He was a brilliant meteor rather than an enduring force; but Ben Jonson's high-sounding words help us to conceive what such a personality must have meant to his more humble contemporary, young Edward Hyde.

> "In him all virtue is beheld in State:
> And he is built like some imperial room
> For that to dwell in, and be still at home."

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[1] *Life*, i. 37. He died in 1658.

They are brave words, echoing the sound of a brave and goodly company, that filled the eyes of the young lawyer in these early years.

There were others about whose names no such glamour gathers as they live in Hyde's reminiscences. John Vaughan was only a few years his senior, and their lives ended in the same year. Early friendship made them associates for a time in the first stages of the civil struggle, but Vaughan's time-serving and vacillation made it hard for any one to discern any principle in his action. Alternately he served King and Parliament, and was at least astute enough to suffer no severity of hardship at the hands of either party. After the Restoration, Hyde tried to induce his friend of early days to accept a judgeship. Perhaps Vaughan's grudging nature was jealous of the great place now held by the companion of his youth. He refused the offer, and used his undoubted eloquence and eminent parliamentary power [1] as Hyde's persistent and embittered adversary. His later years seem to have fulfilled the promise of his youth as depicted by Hyde:—

"A man of great parts of nature, and very well adorned by arts and books, and so much cherished by Mr. Selden that he grew to be of entire trust and friendship with him, and to that owed the best part of his reputation: for he was of so magisterial and supercilious a humour, so proud and insolent a behaviour, that all Mr. Selden's instructions, and authority, and example, could not file off that roughness of his nature, so as to make him very grateful."

The circle evidently contained examples useful to young Hyde, of what to avoid, as well as of what to follow, and

[1] In Pepys's *Diary* we have repeated references to the eloquence of "the great Mr. Vaughan;" and Pepys's tribute is not rendered the less lavish from the circumstance that Vaughan flattered the good Secretary's vanity by well-timed praise. But even Pepys has to admit that he was "passionate and opiniastre."

Vaughan was a notable instance of the former. Powers that were weighed down by a sulky temper, an intellectual capacity blunted by prejudice, jealousy that brooded over fancied wrongs, and an eloquence backed by no constructive power—these were the qualities which showed themselves to young Hyde in his youthful companion, and the fruit of which the Chancellor was to feel in after years.

Another there was, endowed with none of those gifts of fortune, and none of the graces of mind or body which were shared by the brighter members of the circle. Thomas May was some fourteen years older than Hyde, and already, before Hyde came to London, he had achieved a certain literary reputation by his translation of Lucan, to which he afterwards added a continuation carrying the history of Rome to the assassination of Julius Cæsar, which it was the fashion of the new school to treat as an act of righteous vengeance for outraged liberty. Depressed by poverty, and by an impediment of speech, May could not aspire to be an ornament of Court, nor to play the *rôle* of a polished gentleman; but his translations had attained a *succès d'estime*, and his essays in historical writing had secured at least the favour, if not the admiration, of the literary circles of the Court. But the temper of a soured dependant is apt to be easily irritated. May failed to obtain the Laureateship on the death of Ben Jonson. He nursed his grudge against the Court: drew into ever closer relations with its opponents, and became the associate of those in whose service he could feed his personal jealousy. During the Civil War, he acted as "Secretary" to the Parliament (whatever that office meant) and was employed to write the official "History of the Long Parliament"—a production whose very origin prescribed a certain formal appearance of impartiality, which can deceive no one, and made necessary a prosaic dulness

which has reserved its perusal only for the curious.[1] It was a sorry task, and Clarendon has a word of pitying regret for the servile function which his early friend fulfilled. His life ended in 1650, while he was still busy over the task of chronicling the doings of his paymasters.

With this circle, Hyde mixed only as the young student, finding in the society of older men a guide and an incentive, and above all a safeguard against that more frivolous society which had attractions for him—the less dangerous because he recognized the danger, and carefully cultivated the antidote. A few years later he found himself in another society of men, almost all contemporaries of his own—attracted to them not by the humble reverence of youth for age, but by the stronger ties of ungrudging admiration, close sympathy, and warm affection.

"He had then another conjunction and communication that he took so much delight in, that he embraced it in the time of his greatest business and practice, and would suffer no other pretence or obligation to withdraw him from that familiarity and friendship: and took frequent occasion to mention their names with great pleasure, being often heard to say 'that if he had any good in him, in his humour, or in his manners, he owed it to the example and the information he had received in and from that company, with most of whom he had an entire friendship.'"[2]

They were Lucius Carey: Sir Francis Wenman: Sidney Godolphin: Edmund Waller: Gilbert Sheldon: George Morley: John Earles: John Hales of Eton: and William Chillingworth. A goodly company, indeed, and amongst them Hyde was no longer the obscure and callow student, but the formed man of the world, taking his place amongst

[1] Chatham's praise of its impartiality is, of course, well known, but cannot alter the fact. Partiality can be shown as much by sins of omission as by eloquence of denunciation.

[2] *Life*, i. 41.

them as an equal, facing the same fierce contentions, warmed by the same ambitions, exchanging the same commerce of thought and argument on the great problems of the day. It was an association far different from that of the older circle.

In both cases the guiding principle in his choice of friendships remained the same. As he quaintly expresses it,[1] according to his usual method in the autobiography, of resorting to the third person, " he was often heard to say " that

" next to the immediate blessing and providence of God Almighty, which had preserved him throughout the whole course of his life (less strict than it ought to have been) from many dangers and disadvantages in which many other young men were lost, he owed all the little he knew, and the little good that was in him, to the friendships and conversation he had still been used to, of the most excellent men in their several kinds that lived in that age: by whose learning, and information, and instruction, he formed his studies, and mended his understanding: and by whose gentleness and sweetness of behaviour, and justice, and virtue, and example, he formed his manners, subdued that pride, and suppressed that heat and passion he was naturally inclined to be transported with."

So again—

" he used often to say ' that he never was so proud, or thought himself so good a man, as when he was the worst man in the company ' ; ' that in the whole course of his life he never knew one man of what condition soever, arrive to any degree of reputation in the world, who made choice or delighted in the company or conversation of those who in their qualities were inferior, or in their parts not much superior to himself.' "

To some, this may savour of sycophancy. The very frankness with which he utters what is not a resolution made

[1] *Life*, i. 33.

in youth, but a conclusion drawn in old age and after ripe experience, shows that there is in it nothing of servility or obsequiousness. It is at least sycophancy much sublimated, and moving in an atmosphere in which the sycophant can scarcely breathe. And it is most indubitably sound worldly wisdom, the result of a due sense of proportion. It remained Hyde's firm conviction to the end of his life. Again and again, in his inimitable delineations of character, he traces evil traits, which marred and disfigured many a personality, to ill-chosen associates, intercourse with whom dragged a man downwards, instead of teaching him to lift his gaze higher, and to breathe a purer air.[1]

Of that younger company, the centre and inspiring spirit was young Lucius Carey, afterwards Lord Falkland. Low of stature, with an awkward gait, a countenance of no intellectual mark, an inharmonious voice—he yet gave to others the priceless gift of a nature framed at once of gentlest courtesy, of invincible courage, and of the purest sincerity. "All mankind could not but love and admire him"; and that love and admiration were to Hyde as a religion, that kindled all that was best in his nature, that gave him the companionship of a soul of noblest chivalry, and that left the world for him gray and overcast when his friend fell in the early years of the civil war. Till death parted them their lives were knit in closest union; and again and again we have to trace Hyde's opinions shaping themselves in the bond of this his closest friendship, that inspired him even during the troublous years when it had ceased to be aught but a cherished memory.

It was at Carey's house of Tew, in Oxfordshire, that the company gathered most often. Thither they came to find

[1] As one example amongst many, see the character of Lord Robartes (*Life*, ii. 19). In Hyde's opinion even Laud's character suffered from the same experience of sycophantic surroundings.

their lodgings ready as in their colleges at Oxford. They came "to study in a purer air, finding all the books they could desire in his library, and all the persons together whose company they could wish, and not find in any other society." There Wenman brought his courtly grace, his incomparable wit, his piercing judgment, and his ripe scholarship. There Sidney Godolphin [1] showed how large a store of fancy and of mental grasp might be contained in a puny frame that nursed itself with something of Epicurean tenderness, which he proved himself able to throw aside when his country called him, and when he gladly gave his life in battle for what he deemed the better cause. There Waller charmed with his pleasant discourse, in earnest and in jest; indulged his brooding fancy and shaped his stately eloquence; and there he sharpened the excellence and power of that wit "of which," says Hyde, "no more need be said than that it was of magnitude enough to cover a world of very great faults"—a narrow nature, a lack of courage, servile flattery and insinuation; that strange blend of qualities that to the end of a long life saw Waller safe through many degradations, and "continued to his age with that rare felicity, that his company was acceptable where his spirit was odious, and he was, at least, pitied when he was most detested."

There Gilbert Sheldon nursed that grave and prudent spirit of statesmanship that made his young companions mark him as one "born and bred to be Archbishop of Canterbury; and there George Morley's lively wit, his

[1] Sidney Godolphin was born of a good Cornish family in 1609. From his earliest days he was a favourite at Court, and an adherent of Lord Strafford, whose attainder he resisted. When war broke out, he joined Hopton's army, and was killed at Chagford in 1643. His nephew was the Earl of Godolphin, the Whig minister of Charles II. and Queen Anne. "There was never so great a mind and spirit contained in so little room" (Clarendon, *Life*, i. 51). Even Falkland, small as he was, found his friendship for Godolphin all the pleasanter because in his company he could reckon himself "the properer man."

graceful scholarship, his dexterity in argument, at once attracted and puzzled the admiring circle. If his proneness to jest at first roused prejudices in the mind of Laud, his dexterity overcame them, and he lived to earn, by stalwart loyalty and abundant sufferings, the high preferment which came to him in later days under the ministry of his early friend Edward Hyde. There Earle's quaint genius and facetious wit ripened in a congenial soil; and there John Hale's far-reaching charity and learned tolerance found that restful haven of peaceful friendship which was all his soul desired. There Chillingworth's restless humour indulged its craving for discussion, foiled and perplexed his adversaries by his imperturbable good temper, and luxuriated in those wire-spun arguments that led him through a maze of doubt, and entangled him in endless religious transformations; destined to spend the latest efforts of his ingenuity in the strange endeavour to devise a new martial instrument, which involved him in the clash of opposing armies, and made him end his days a prisoner of war. With such wealth of companionship, and amidst such happy scenes, Hyde spent the leisure of these ripening years, snatched from a life of constantly increasing business. Together the little circle watched the great problems, slowly emerging, pregnant with fateful issues for so many amongst them. But misgivings as to the future were readily alleviated by the perennial luxury of speculative discourse.

CHAPTER II

WIDENING EXPERIENCES

We have dwelt with the more detail upon the personalities of the two notable circles with which he mixed in youth and in his maturing manhood, because they meant to Hyde much more than they would have meant to most men. To him friendship was the chief delight of life, the study of character its most absorbing interest. The historic sense was strong in him, but it was marked by his own idiosyncrasies. He looked upon history as the gradual development of institutions, and as the result of great personalities. With great popular movements he felt no deep sympathy, nor did he seek to recognize in history the evolution of any supreme law of human progress. His life fell in a thrilling epoch, and he viewed it as a scene on which the figures moved with all the picturesque distinctness of their own strong individuality, like the actors in a great drama.[1] They seemed to him to shape circumstances to their own ends, and history derived for him its chief interest as the stage upon which these dominating figures moved. We need not seek in Hyde for the qualities of a philosophic historian, or for any attempt to pursue the themes of what a later age has called the science of history. To him history was character in action; and it was as one of the prime actors that he

[1] "I conceive," says Hyde, in a letter to Dr. John Earle of March 16, 1647, "that the preservation of the fame and merit of persons, and deriving the same to posterity, is no less the business of history than the truth of things" (Clarendon, *State Papers*, ii. 350).

viewed those who shared the stage with him. Hence the interest in his life of those personal associations, and hence the importance of the first incidents that brought him into close contact with the living society of his day. Books were much to him, but the drama of human passion in action around him was far more. We now turn to some of the incidents that gave him his first experience of the ways of men.

It was in 1633 that Hyde was called upon to intervene in the first of those many social complications in which he was to play a part. Such episodes interpose themselves with strange frequency amidst the political contests of the day, and upon these they often had an influence which may surprise us, but which we cannot refuse to take into account. We can understand the anger which was stirred by them; the abiding family feuds they bred. The puzzling element comes in when we try to appreciate the motives that operated amongst those who were parties to these feuds, and who often enough shaped their political allegiance by the passions which were thus aroused. They are stirred as we would be to-day; but it is only when we come to consider what honour and delicacy of feeling would dictate to us, that we find a strange divergence between that day and our own.

A scandal had arisen within the precincts of the Queen's Court, in which the honour of more than one noble family had been deeply involved. Eleanor Villiers, the sister of Lord Grandison, and a maid of honour to the Queen, had suffered the most cruel wrong from that coarse and brutish libertine, Henry Jermyn. He was an adventurer of a base type, who managed, by over-weening self-confidence, a specious address, and unbounded powers of dissimulation, to gain some credit at Court. The physique of a drayman had earned him credit for a manliness which he did not possess, and a certain clumsy cajolery supplied in him the

place of wit. By such plausible arts he had gained much influence with the Queen, and, revolting as it is to connect a vulgar scandal with one of the foremost figures in the great tragedy now beginning, that favour undoubtedly made the Queen the victim of some malicious tales, widely repeated and as widely believed. However that might be, this coarse debauchee acquired a reputation which won for him the contempt of every honourable man, and maintained it in full vigour until he died an octogenarian in 1684. At once a bully and a coward; a hypocrite and a bungler; a gamester who haunted the card-table when his palsied hands could scarcely grasp the cards, and when his eyesight had so failed that another had to describe their faces to him; a glutton who retained the greed of the gourmand without his appetite; a spendthrift loaded with ill-gotten gains, and yet with all the avarice of the miser—in a word, a byeword even to the gallants of Charles II.'s Court as a loathsome monument of decayed debauchery.

Such was the man who had stained the good fame of a lady connected with some of the leading aristocratic houses. Powerful influence was now employed to force Jermyn to repair the injury by marriage. The brother of Eleanor Villiers, Lord Grandison, sought to avenge the insult by the means which would have suggested itself to most men down to a far later day; but the settlement of the matter by duel was prevented by an order from the King, which committed both the parties to prison. Such an order seems to have aroused no resentment, although one would have thought that a proud aristocracy would —perhaps with some recklessness, but not without attracting some sympathy—have more readily tolerated interferences with political privileges than with the right of settling their own affairs of honour by the course then usual. But this rough and ready method being perforce abandoned, the

matter became the subject of grave and embittered discussion, in which the denizens of the Court became violent partisans. The affair involved serious party divergences, and constitutional issues were mixed up with it. The Marquis of Hamilton was deeply concerned, as a near relative of the family; and as the lady was first cousin to Hyde's first wife, that fact, and his own warm friendship for Lord Grandison, caused his advice to be called in during these acrimonious discussions. It marked his position at once as a kinsman of a noble house and as a lawyer of rising reputation. The enmities bred of that dispute did not soon die, and from the Court factions it developed, Hyde traces the new and baneful influence exercised by women of the Court in political affairs. Perhaps it was, in part, the origin of the Queen's inveterate jealousy of Hyde, which was afterwards to be more openly shown, when Hyde's influence was more worthy of her serious jealousy. At all events, he himself felt that it had a decisive influence upon his career, and he records it with that half-humorous and half-pedantic analysis which he habitually applies as impartially to his own case as to others. "It introduced him," he tells us,[1] "into another way of conversation than he had formerly been accustomed to." "By the friends and enemies he then made, it had," he says, "an influence upon the whole course of his life afterwards." It was an ugly story, and one which most men would have gladly buried in oblivion. But that was not the manner, nor suited the taste, of the time: nor would Hyde's narrative have had its dramatic force for us, had it hidden away unsightly, but crucial, episodes like this.

Jermyn, after suffering banishment for a certain time, was restored to his former position about the Court. The Marquis of Hamilton became, strangely enough, drawn

[1] *Life*, i. 16.

into closer confidence with the Queen, and was estranged from Hyde, who conceived that he saw signs of that want of sincerity in the Marquis which his later experience confirmed.

An episode of the following year, which introduced Hyde into a new sphere of activity, has more amusing ingredients. The Court circles had recently been much disturbed by the publication of Prynne's *Histriomastix*, which denounced the depravity of stage plays, and seemed to reflect upon the Queen, who had not felt it inconsistent with her dignity to take part in some masques at the Court. The unfortunate lampooner was severely dealt with by the Star Chamber, which, after the drastic fashion of the time, condemned him to stand in the pillory, to have his ears cropped, and to suffer imprisonment of uncertain, but prolonged, duration. Even those, like Hyde, who had no sympathy with Prynne, were scandalized by the severity of his punishment, which seemed more suitable to the case of a notorious malefactor than to that of a professional man, whose perverted zeal for puritanic strictness had tempted him to libel the person of the Queen. But such scruples did not prevent the feeling that it was necessary to meet the insult to the Court by some flattering compliment which would show that the attack found neither sympathy nor approval. It seemed to be a suitable method of doing this that the Inns of Court should organize a masque, on a lavish scale, for the entertainment of their Majesties. This was done at vast expense by the brethren of the Gown; and Hyde, as a barrister in rising business, was one of the four chosen by the Middle Temple to represent them on the occasion. The matter was not left in the hands of those who were pronounced favourers of the Court, and the names of Whitelocke and Selden appear as promoters who took a prominent part in the festivity. It is to Whitelocke

indeed, that we owe the most elaborate description of the display. Descending into quaintly minute particulars, and detailing, with almost excessive particularity, the dresses of the participants and the elaborate arrangements of the procession, his account shows that whatever might be the difficulties of raising money for national needs, there was no disposition to curtail extravagant expenditure on festal display, and that the fraternity of the Bar were not unwilling to rival the ornate fashion then prevalent amongst the courtiers and the landed aristocracy. It teaches us much as to the wealth which had accrued to England from the burst of commercial activity which dated from the days of Elizabeth. The cost to the Inns of Court was calculated at not less than twenty thousand pounds, and this does not probably include the lavish private expenditure which the show entailed. The masque was *The Triumph of Peace*, by James Shirley, and after a full parade of all the accessories of the display in a procession from Ely House, in Holborn, to Whitehall, the masque was "incomparably performed" in the Banqueting Hall before the King and Queen and the Court. It was repeated next day in the city, where the Court was entertained at a banquet by the Lord Mayor. It is strange to think of another scene which that same Banqueting Hall was to witness sixteen years later, when Charles passed through its window to the scaffold on which he was to die.

As a sequel to the splendour of the entertainment, which was one of the last of its kind before the nation entered upon another mood, and betook itself to graver concerns, Hyde was, with the other organizers, presented to the King and Queen. Inconsistent as it seems with the tenor of Hyde's later life, we must not forget that in these early days such an entertainment was dignified for him by the example of Ben Jonson and others of the great fraternity with whom he had

been linked in his younger years. For the present it served as one more step in that social advancement which the shrewd young lawyer sought in common with his contemporaries, and which he saw to be as useful for professional advancement as dogged perseverance in the drudgery of the law. The latter he did not neglect; but a sure instinct told him that knowledge of men and manners was after all a more powerful lever for his ambition, and he is throughout inclined, perhaps with some complacency, rather to exaggerate his neglect of the drudgery, and to dwell upon those accessories which were to make him a facile and adaptive judge of character, and were to enable him with ease to take his place amongst the proud and somewhat fantastic aristocracy of the day. At present we must regard him as the young man careless of grave political problems, and carried onwards by the favouring breeze of youthful ambition. Probably to him and to his fellow-masquers there came little thought of the solid mass of obdurate nonconformity which was scandalized by such performances; and, in the triumph of their well-received and courtly compliment, they troubled themselves little with the strictly legal effect of the Star Chamber incident, the memory of which it was intended to obliterate.

It is curious to surmise how it may have been viewed by the stricter conscience of Laud, who might have approved the punishment of an ill-mannered satirist, but can scarcely have relished the extravagant fantasy of the flatterers of the Queen. The next incident in Hyde's life brought him into closer contact with that ardent leader of the Church, who has been the central theme of admiration and abhorrence to those who have taken diverse views of the history of the time; and with regard to no one is the shrewdness of Hyde's judgment of character more conspicuous.

The occasion of their first meeting was curious, and tells

us much of Hyde's gradual advance in the line of life that he had chosen. In 1635, the death of Weston, Earl of Portland, had vacated the office of Lord Treasurer. It was "an office very slippery and not fast to those who had trusted themselves in it." [1] Weston had risen to it painfully, after patient labour and years of disappointment. Assiduous courting of the great, and especially of Buckingham, had at length won for him preferment; but it was only after long years of perilous labour in foreign missions, and after ripe experience had taught him how to "swim with a good grace in those troubled and boisterous waters, in which the Duke of Buckingham rode as admiral," [2] that he earned the confidence of the great favourite sufficiently to be appointed Lord Treasurer. Buckingham's patronage might have failed him when his own promotion gave food for jealousy; but Buckingham's death a few months later left Weston in possession of the full confidence of the King. His grasping ambition had grown during these tedious years of waiting and of hazardous climbing; and greed of money and of power soon made him unpopular. Under his administration all Royal bounty was checked except that which flowed towards himself: the value of the Royal domains was enhanced by exactions from others, but diminished by lavish grants to the Lord Treasurer. The expenditure of the Crown was curtailed, but that of Weston's own household was so extravagant that all his grasping and his greed could not suffice for it. He feebly imitated the pride of Buckingham, without his splendid generosity and his personal attraction: he had all his ambition, but only a small portion of his ability, and nothing of his audacity and courage. He helped Charles to economize; but he pursued his economies without tact, and

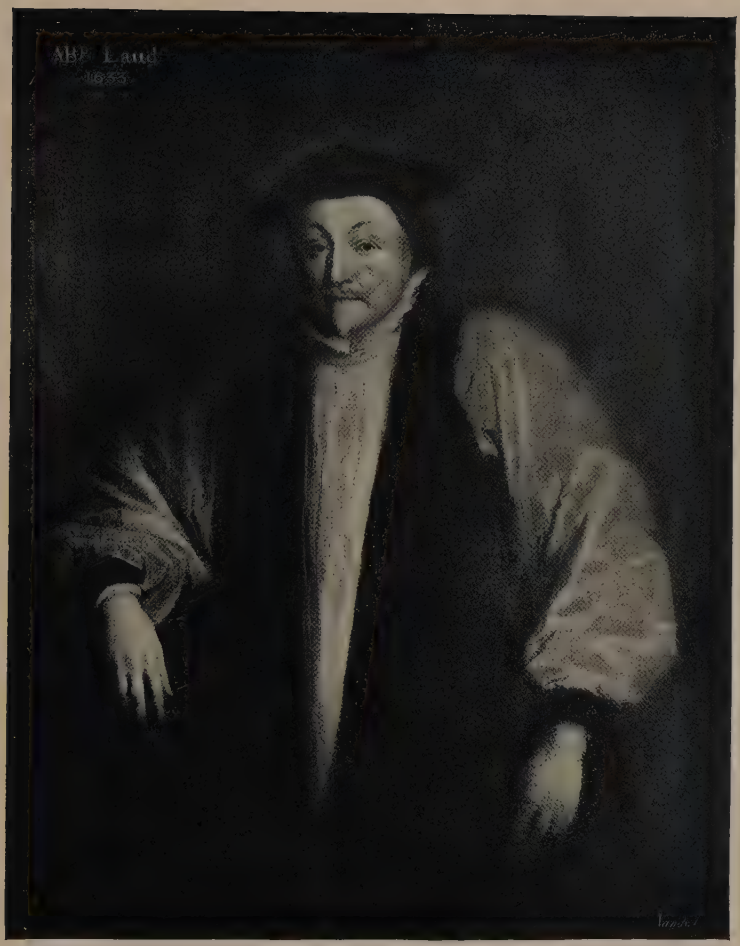
[1] *History of Rebellion*, i. 101. Weston was created Earl of Portland in 1634, about a year before his death.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 104.

he joined to them unlimited personal cupidity. He checked the expenditure of the Crown; but under him the administration of the Treasury had nursed discontent in every section of the nation.

The Treasury was now put in commission, and the chief of the Lords Commissioners was Laud—now Archbishop of Canterbury. With his usual zeal and passion for method and detail, Laud threw himself into the work. He had already his hands full enough with the government of the Church and with the business of the High Commission Court. But no labour came amiss to the indomitable industry of Laud; and with all the zeal of a novice he determined that his new function should not be a sinecure, but that he would introduce new order and economy into the revenues of the Crown. In his case certainly there was no tincture of personal cupidity, and his only desire was to make his administration at once economical and scrupulously just. Unfortunately for him these aims were not enough to secure for it popularity. So long as he felt his own aims sincere and his purposes unselfish, Laud was the last man to think of the aspect that they wore to the eyes of others, or to trouble himself about those petty concessions to individual feelings which often help to ingratiate even acts of questionable rectitude when guided by tactful policy. He had no mercy for the crooked arts of those who were less conscientious than himself, and it was characteristic of him that amid his zeal for financial rectitude he could not exclude a satisfaction in undoing some of the work of his predecessor, whom he had long recognized as a personal enemy, of whose influence with the King he had been jealous, and whom he suspected as of Roman Catholic tendencies, and a concealed traitor to the Church. Strict honesty did not atone for his own lack of tact. Those who honestly sought for relief from oppression found Laud's ears open to their complaints, so long as they

urged nothing inconsistent with his central aim of economy; but such gratitude as these could feel weighed lightly in the balance of popularity to a minister of finance.

Amid the pressure of the great burdens that now accumulated upon him, Laud was wont to seek for a spell of easy intercourse amongst his neighbours at Croydon, near which lay his country palace. One of these was a leading London merchant, named Daniel Harvey, and Laud varied his week-end talks with Harvey by discussions about the due encouragement of trade, and learned from him how much oppression was caused by petty and vexatious regulations, which brought no profit to the Crown, but enhanced the ill-gotten gains of the farmers of the customs. Amongst these was one rule in particular which compelled the merchants to unlade even their heavy goods at the Custom House, and imposed upon them vast inconvenience and expense, with no gain to the revenue. Their goods were thus delayed at the caprice of the wharfinger, and their market was often lost. The Archbishop pursued the subject, and insisted upon knowing the whole history of the dispute, and the proceedings relating to a petition of the merchants on the subject. It then appeared that the regulation was made, to the prejudice of the other farmers of the customs, and in the interests of one who was the late Lord Treasurer's favourite, and doubtless recouped him for his partiality. Laud asked to see a copy of the petition, and was referred to a young lawyer who had been consulted by the merchants, and had stated their case to the late Lord Treasurer. The young lawyer, he was told, was one Hyde, the son-in-law of Sir Thomas Aylesbury; and through Aylesbury, Hyde was summoned to an interview with Laud at Lambeth. The colloquy between the young lawyer, already versed in the ways of men, who had sharpened his wits by constant intercourse with the wits of the day, and the aged Archbishop,



ARCHBISHOP LAUD.

(From the original by Sir Anthony Vandyke, at Lambeth.)

who, in a long life of ceaseless industry, had never learned the first alphabet of social tact, and was, in essence, but the college don with a vast fund of administrative energy, is both dramatic and of infinite importance in the life of Hyde. With his usual candour, Laud expatiated to the youth of seven-and-twenty on his own ignorance of his new task and of his zeal to master it, and told him of his earnest desire to rectify the grievance of the merchants. Hyde was sufficiently versed in the ways of the world to recount to the Archbishop "two or three passages in the transactions which he heard would please him most":[1] he recounted the arrogant reception he had met from the Lord Treasurer, and how Hyde had made bold to tell him that "if the farmers of the customs were weary of their bargain, he would help the King to forty thousand pounds a year above the rent they paid": how the Lord Treasurer "had let himself out into an indecent rage." It is not surprising that he found this "not ungrateful to the Archbishop"; who, thereupon, "required him to see him often." Hyde had at least made one friend in high place by helping him to that he wished, and in the way he wished it; and he had the most rare quality of all—tact, which taught him not to press the advantage unduly. With that naïve candour, which is one of his charms, he takes us into his confidence, and tells us "that he well knew how to cultivate these advantages." Henceforward he became Laud's chosen confidant.

This advanced greatly his position at the bar; and, with pardonable pride, he tells us how "he enjoyed a very pleasant and a plentiful life, having a competent estate of his own, and living much above the rank of those lawyers whose business was only to be rich: and was generally beloved and esteemed by most persons of condition and great reputation."[2] He was "no slave to his profession,

[1] *Life*, i. 30.

[2] *Life*, i. 31.

but kept both his friends at Court, and about the town, by his frequent application and constant conversation." They used to meet at dinner, and "enjoyed themselves with wonderful delight and public reputation, for the innocence, and sharpness, and learning of their conversation." He never supped for many years, that he might have that time to spare for polite learning. No life could have been a better preparation for the great part that he was yet to play; and the vein of happy self-complacency only serves to let us know better the man with whom we have to deal. It was the sort of self-complacency that breeds heroism when occasion calls for it.

One thing only he regretted—that after that first circuit with his uncle, the Chief Justice, he never again rode the country circuits. He considered that the best part of a lawyer's life, both for its wholesome exercise, and for the intimate knowledge it gave of all classes of the people. To the lack of the first perhaps some of the ill health of his later years may be ascribed. As for the second, Hyde did his best, in later years, to supply the defect. But strictly professional society never, either now or in his later years, had much charm for Hyde. With it "he had at most formal acquaintance, and little familiarity."[1] He used "seldom, when his practice was at the highest, so much as to eat in the hall, without which no man ever got the reputation of a good student." Possibly Hyde did not feel that the society there conformed to his rule of avoiding the company of those "who in their qualities were inferior, or in their parts not much superior to himself." He almost grudged the increase of practice which prevented him from assigning "so much time as he had used to do to his beloved conversation."

He now found himself noticed, and even courted, by

[1] *Life*, i. 67.

those who were most notable in their age, and for this he was obliged to the countenance of the Archbishop. These more imposing figures at least revealed themselves sufficiently to the young lawyer to enable him to draw their portraits with unerring insight. He received the courteous attention of the Lord Keeper Coventry, who from small beginnings had, by profound knowledge and consummate dexterity, attained the highest position in the law: had known how to elude the machinations of powerful and unscrupulous foes: had insinuated rather than expressed his doubts as to innovations which strained the Royal prerogative, and the fatal reaction against which he had foresight to predict, though too cautious to arraign its cause: who had managed to combine the grace of the courtier with a natural simplicity of his own: who despised dissimulation, and yet, without raising false hopes, could dismiss an applicant not unpleased; and who, in a slippery time, "stood upon his defence without making desperate sallies against growing mischiefs," and thus secured to himself a tenure of office unequalled in its duration; and who, withal, was "a man rather exceedingly liked, than passionately beloved." [1] Hyde found a good reception with Coventry's personal enemy, the Lord Privy Seal, Lord Manchester, who, a younger son, had risen through a long and varying succession of dignities, and whose known wisdom, long experience, and confessed gravity and ability were weighed down only by that cupidity, which his means, too narrow for his great position, made him too sedulous to satisfy; and who had "ballast enough for sails filled by the wind of the popularity" earned by his indubitable zeal for Protestantism and his unquestioned loyalty. He found a ready familiarity from the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Chamberlain, the elder of that "incomparable pair of brethren," who have the proud boast of

[1] *History of Rebellion*, i. 100

being permitted to be Shakespeare's patrons.[1] He was now "the most universally loved and esteemed of any man of that age,"[2] and in his descent as well as his personal qualities he epitomizes much of the picturesque romance of the age. He was the lavish patron of literature and art, with no mean literary instinct of his own: magnificent at once in the splendid pomp of his life, and in his generosity: a finished courtier, yet scorning the favours of the Court: unrestrained alike in his pride of independence and in those "pleasant vices" which might be indulged with no tincture of avarice or meanness. "Never man was planted in a Court that was fitter for that soil, or brought better qualities with him to purify that air," is the verdict of such a stern moralist as Hyde. It was a misfortune for that Court that he died in 1630, and left his title and estates to his younger brother, a man of very different calibre.[3] The latter had no pretension to intellectual gifts, but was rather the buoyant sportsman, whose learning was chiefly in horses and in dogs. It was a curiously misplaced ambition that made him an unsuccessful candidate against Laud, to succeed his brother as Chancellor of Oxford—a dignity which he obtained later as the nominee of Cromwell. Another of the grandees of the Court, now friendly to Hyde, and in after-years so often involved in his fortunes, was Henry

[1] William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, was born in 1580, and was the son of Mary, sister of Sir Philip Sidney—Spenser's

"Urania, sister unto Astrophel."

He fulfilled in himself the promise of his descent; and to a dignified presence added consummate bravery and marvellous intellectual force.

[2] *History of Rebellion*, i. 120.

[3] Philip Herbert, the younger son of the Earl of Pembroke, was born in 1584, and early gained the special favour of King James. He was created Earl of Montgomery in 1620, and succeeded, without equal grounds, to much of his brother's popularity. By waywardness, rather than any special divergence on political principles, he became estranged from the Court; and various petty ties of personal friendship, as well as the mastering desire to secure the safety of Wilton and all its treasures, confirmed him later in his allegiance to the Parliament. He died in 1650.

Rich, the younger son of the Earl of Warwick, created Lord Kensington and Earl of Holland. His character will reveal itself in later incidents.

Such patronage won for the young lawyer peculiar attention in the Courts, and, various as were his interests, he applied himself sufficiently to his profession to make his success in it secure. Fortune seemed to smile kindly on his life; and he was dexterous enough to avoid those enmities in which the favour of men who belonged to very different factions at Court might easily have involved him.

It does not follow that Hyde was satisfied with the existing state of the political world. There is one outstanding name which does not emerge in his account of his earlier relations to those in high office, and it is just the name which stood higher than all others. There were few of the great with whom Hyde had not some tie of friendly patronage, or at least some slight acquaintanceship; but no record remains of any association of his with the Earl of Strafford. The omission of that name from Hyde's catalogue of the leading men of that day is significant. Across the troublous period that followed we look back on Strafford's as the one outstanding personality. Of all the seeming statesmen, he was the only man who had what was, at least, a consistent and courageous scheme of government. A few years later we shall hear Hyde's deliberate and balanced verdict on his work. But at this earlier period, although Strafford was the central figure, Hyde evidently hesitates to sketch even the outlines of that figure, or to assign to him his part in the working of the government machine. It is no part of our task to discuss in detail or to attempt to investigate fully the merits and defects of the great minister whose task was almost over before Hyde's political career began. But it is enough to say that in the permanent elements of foresight and unfaltering courage, the genius of Strafford dwarfs all

his contemporaries, and all those, save one, who were actors in the great drama that was to follow. He failed, but he failed largely because he came too late, and because he fought under impossible conditions. The sixteenth century had nursed an energy and an enterprise that could not be confined within the trammels of arbitrary rule; and the reign of James had taught the nation that their salvation was not to be in the Monarchy. Even then, a monarch, steadfast in purpose, and unflinching in the assertion of his authority, might have given to Strafford the opportunity he desired of working out a great future for the nation, under a preponderating monarchical power, and with an aristocracy tamed and disciplined to other work than the promotion of their own sectional power, and their own swollen possessions. Again and again, in later generations, the nation—or some amongst its leaders—was to swing back to that ideal, which sought to curb the power of a selfish oligarchy, intent only on exploiting the growth of national prosperity for its own advantage. But Strafford was the last who realized the idea fully, who laid his plans consistently, and who, so far as his own efforts were concerned, won a victory which was sacrificed only by the tortuous methods and the vacillating temper of a King, in whose composition nature had not added the courage of manly candour to a narrow-minded sincerity of purpose, or impulsive energy to moral rectitude and to no small share of personal dignity and courage.

But men do not, with their contemporaries, completely gauge the full bearing of deep-laid schemes and far-reaching principles: least of all was it possible for the young lawyer under thirty years of age to do so. It was much that Hyde could, in the closing scene, see the loftiness of Strafford's character, and recognize the consummate dignity which he showed in the tragic end of his life. At present, when Strafford was at the height of his power, an observer, however

acute, could only judge his actions by his impression of their effect upon the nation at large. Unquestionably, so far as Hyde was concerned, his verdict on the course which Strafford now pursued was an adverse one.

There was much in the position of the nation at that time which was pleasing to Hyde, perhaps even more in the retrospect of later years than it seemed at the moment. The wasteful and ill-considered wars in which Buckingham had involved his master were now ended, and the kingdom enjoyed a profound peace, the more noticeable because of the universal clash of arms on the continent. Scotland, England's enemy of many generations, was now in the enjoyment of a peace which it had never known. Ireland, after a glut of rebellion, was now firmly administered, and instead of being a sponge, drawing endless expenditure, was turned into a good source of commercial revenue. Our colonies were rapidly increasing, and English capital and enterprise found there a field of infinite promise. Our commerce was advancing by leaps and bounds, and we held almost undisputed command on the high seas. The name of England was feared and respected in every corner of Europe. There was a very wantonness of prosperity at home. A wealthy and luxurious aristocracy seemed ready to leave higher politics alone, so long as they enjoyed undisputed sway over a docile crowd of unconsidered men, and were allowed, by lavish grants from the Crown, and by the exercise of uncontrolled privileges, to increase the revenues which they wasted in extravagant display. The mass of the people had new fields of industry, and troubled themselves little about theories of political power.

But, on the other hand, fears were aroused on every side, by new and unaccustomed methods of administration; and these were most felt and most sharply criticized by the more wise and thoughtful part of the nation. A strong current

of alarm set against vaguely threatened extensions of the Royal prerogative. The wealthy aristocracy found their revenues curtailed by revivals of the forest laws, and by fines exacted upon estates which they had acquired by questionable means, and to which they had no very assured titles. The equality of all ranks before the law, administered by an ever-encroaching prerogative, had no great charm for a nation in which the aristocratic principle was deeply planted. The trading classes measured their verdict on the Government, not by their new gains, but by the new taxes imposed. So long as tonnage and poundage, and the new tax of ship-money, were levied only on the pretext of special exigency, they could be endured ; but when, after the famous test case of Hampden had been tried, the law courts were induced to give them a sanction, based rather upon political than legal grounds, these new exactions became doubly odious and formidable. They were now felt to involve a tampering with the chief security of property—the unsullied purity of legal decisions. The measured and settled procedure of the law courts was invaded by maxims borrowed from reasons of State, liable to be strained by the ambitions of the executive ; and this was especially dangerous at a time when much of the intellectual energy of the nation was occupied in the careful investigation of constitutional principle. Under the wise polity of former reigns, however high the prerogative had been strained, it had never called to its aid the devices of the lawyers, or made of the law-courts workshops where new chains for liberty might be forged. Hyde was lawyer enough to see the danger, and man of the world enough to see how little reliance was to be placed upon the new agents whom the prerogative was calling to its aid. In Noy, the Attorney-General, and Finch, the Lord Chief Justice, he recognized two men who were precisely of the type into which he saw a danger that his own profession

might degenerate—narrow, pedantic, and incapable of tempering the niceties of legal disputation with the larger principles of policy. The Court of High Commission and the Star Chamber had long exercised unbridled jurisdiction, and had enforced arbitrary decrees, dealing with questions which lay outside the sphere of the ordinary courts. In former times they had given rough and ready decisions, and had heard causes in secret; but the criticism upon their action had been the less acrimonious just because they had not attempted any formality of procedure. Now the very elaboration of process lent itself to new criticism, and excited new alarm. Discussion and argument and comment swelled enormously the tide of antipathy. Drastic and summary methods were felt only by the handful of people affected: the elaboration of formal process made the whole nation uneasy. Strafford's was the strong brain and the forcible hand in the background; he had little taste for the subtleties of legal process. His influence was rather felt than seen. But Laud's was the narrower brain, the equally courageous heart, and the often blundering and tactless method which was more in evidence. And Hyde's feeling of profound respect and ungrudging admiration for Laud's obvious sincerity did not blind him to Laud's fatal errors.

With Laud's main aims—which were first shown in his University administration, where he introduced order out of chaos, discipline in place of anarchy, a stately comeliness in place of slovenly boorishness, sober scholarship in place of the restless fanaticism of disputation, and which were afterwards expanded in the larger sphere of civil and ecclesiastical statesmanship—Hyde had the fullest sympathy. He detested as cordially as Laud the uncouth fashions of the puritan, and desired as eagerly as he the restfulness of control, the decencies of worship, and the peacefulness of sound order in religious ritual. In Strafford, Laud had found an

all-powerful ally, united to himself in his ecclesiastical ideals, and finding in these a convenient adjunct to his own great scheme of sound administrative discipline both in Church and State. In Hyde, he had a useful adviser, who sympathized with his churchmanship, but doubted his scheme of resting it upon a strained prerogative, and whose perception of the fatal errors in Laud's methods, and the danger of his hopeless lack of tact, prompted him from time to time to add to his advice some much-needed warnings.

"The greatest want the Archbishop had," says Hyde,[1] "was of a true friend, who would seasonably tell him of his infirmities, and what people said of him." Laud was by nature too sincere not to be conscious of the want: and even his fiery temper, and the arrogancy of manner which was perhaps the necessary consequence of his origin and his early training, did not make him resent the plain-speaking of a candid friend. It was a hard part for the young lawyer to assume; but Hyde knew how to discharge it with boldness, yet with needful prudence. The picture Hyde gives us of one such scene is drawn with all his consummate art, and admirably depicts the dexterity of the younger man, and the lamentable defects, as well as the essential humility and candour, of the older one. It was on his return from the country for Michaelmas Term that Hyde found the fit occasion. Laud was walking in the gardens of Lambeth, which he loved so well, and where in the springtime he used to listen to the nightingale and the thrush. He asked Hyde, "What good news in the country?" and was answered, "There was none good; and (which troubled Hyde most) many people spoke extreme ill of his Grace, as the cause of all that was amiss." Laud said he was sorry for it, but that he would not give over serving the King and the Church to please the people. Hyde told him, "He thought he need

[1] *Life*, i. 69.

not lessen his zeal for either; and that it grieved him to find persons of the best condition, and who loved both King and Church, exceedingly indevoted to him, complaining of his manner of treating them, when they had occasion to resort to him, it may be, for his directions." He then recounted a particular instance, where two persons of "the most interest and credit in Wiltshire," had reason to complain of the manner in which Laud alone, of all the members of the Council Board, had treated them cavalierly. One of them had gone next morning to Lambeth to learn the cause, and to endeavour to remove it; but when, after long delay, he had been admitted, the Archbishop, "scarce hearing him, sharply answered him, that 'he had no leisure for compliments.'" Laud took the rebuke in good part, and heard the story very patiently, and said with evident trouble that "he was very unfortunate to be so ill understood; that he meant very well." He remembered the incident, but the sharpness of his diction at the Council Board was unintentional and due to the "imperfection he had by nature, which often troubled him." When the visitor came to Lambeth, he had been engaged in an affair of importance, had "received him very kindly, as he thought," but being troubled with his elaborate ceremony in place of business, told him "that he had no time for compliments." He regretted the incident; but "if his integrity and uprightness, which never should be liable to reproach, could not be strong enough to preserve him, he must submit to God's pleasure."

Hyde was not yet prepared to spare him. He told the Archbishop that his own story showed how much reason the gentleman had to be offended, and that he "did exceedingly wish that he would more reserve his passion to all persons, how faulty soever; and that he would treat persons of honour and quality and interest in their country, with

more courtesy and condescension." Laud was still not offended.

"Smiling, he said 'that he could only undertake for his heart; that he had very good meaning: for his tongue he could not undertake that he would not sometimes speak more heartily and sharply than he should do (which oftentimes he was very sorry and reprehended himself for), and in a tune which might be liable to misinterpretation with them who were not very well acquainted with him, and so knew not that it was an infirmity which his nature and education had so rooted in him, that it was in vain to contend against it.' 'In the state and distance he kept with men, he thought it was not more than was suitable to the place and degree he held in the Church and State.'"

Most men, who recognized their own defects so well as Laud, would have gone half-way to curing them; but Laud's own verdict on himself was the true one. The defects of his temper and education were too deep-seated to be cured. None the less, it says as much for the aged dignitary as for his youthful Mentor, that the conversation sowed no seeds of ill will.

"After this free discourse, Mr. Hyde ever found himself more graciously received by him, and treated with more familiarity; upon which he always concluded, that if the Archbishop had had any true friend, who would, in proper seasons, have dealt frankly with him in the most important matters, and wherein the errors were like to be found most penal, he would not only have received it very well, but have profited himself by it."

Hyde recognized the cause with ample perspicacity.

"It is," he adds in memorable words, "the misfortune of most persons of that education (how worthy soever) that they have rarely friendship with men above their own condition, and that, their ascent being commonly sudden from

low to high, they have afterwards rather dependants than friends, and are still deceived by keeping somewhat in reserve to themselves even from those with whom they seem most openly to communicate; and, which is worse, receive for the most part their informations and advertisements from clergymen, who understand the least, and take the worst measure of human affairs, of all mankind that can write and read."

"In the most important matters, and wherein the errors were like to be most penal," Hyde could advise his old friend about his tactlessness and discourtesy; but it was not tactlessness and discourtesy alone in which he saw that Laud committed grievous errors, "like to be most penal," and for which a sterner judge and a more weighty friend than the young lawyer was required. We know from Hyde himself, that he saw how triumphs for the Church were dearly bought if accompanied by punishments, inflicted with Laud's assent and approval, which shocked the feelings of the nation. The ordinary penal code of that day was, of course, admittedly drastic and barbarous in our eyes; but, with all allowance for this, it was not crime only, it was fatuous folly, to condemn to the pillory and ear-cropping men like Prynne and Bastwick and Burton; graceless fanatics, it may be, but none the less, educated men, whose delinquencies, even in the eyes of the most zealous Churchman, deserved no such barbarous treatment, and whose torture and degradation roused the indignation of their sympathizers, and gave cause for doubt and disgust even to many of the warm supporters of the Church. Well might Hyde say, in a condemnation far graver than his warnings about tactless arrogance or discourtesy, "Every profession, with anger and indignation enough, thought their education and degrees and quality would have secured them from such infamous judgments, and treasured up wrath for the time

to come."[1] We may admit that Laud's chief and sincere desire was to secure the peace of the Church, and to provide for her a seemly ritual. But however earnest his zeal, the intrusion of the drastic methods of the pillory and the executioner's knife into the arena of religious disputes made that zeal an ally which even a secular minister, engaged in the rougher task of strengthening the royal prerogative in civil matters, might have seen cause to dread.

But there was another and a more fatal error in Laud's scheme of government, which aroused even greater animosity, and deeply involved the Church in the prevailing undercurrent of discontent, and which no honesty of administration and no sincerity of aim could atone for. By a strange perversion of judgment—the result of Laud's exaggerated mediævalism, which counted for a good deal in his general policy—he conceived the idea of restoring to the Church its old power in the State, when great churchmen were also the leading statesmen of England. It was the scheme of a visionary, blind to what was passing round him. The days of Becket, and Langton, and Wykeham, and Wolsey were buried in the past, and never could be restored. But Laud cherished the idea that the leaders of the Church might again lay their hands upon the administration of the State, and be, not the allies, but the supreme rulers of secular policy. It was in this spirit that he accepted for himself a place in the management of the Treasury, and became one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty. By a strange delusion, he fancied that mere honesty of purpose could disarm the envy which such action aroused. He strove to make himself no mere formal coadjutor, but to penetrate into every detail of administration. His boundless industry served only to weaken his influence as the leader of the Church, and in a corrupt age his very sincerity of purpose enhanced the ill-

[1] *Hist. of Rebellion*, i. 197.

will aroused by his interference in secular business. In 1636, he fancied that he had won a lasting triumph for the Church when he obtained the nomination of his intimate friend Juxon, the Bishop of London, as Lord Treasurer. Juxon brought to the task an industry and an unselfish purity of administration equal to his own: but the jealousy was enormously increased. "Now," Laud says, in his *Diary*, "if the Church will not hold themselves under God, I can do no more." He fancied that he had secured the indubitable supremacy of the Church: in fact, he involved her in stormy waters, in which she was soon to be submerged. He presently attempted the same thing in Scotland, with equally fatal results. To Strafford, as well as to Hyde, the error must have been apparent enough.

Hyde was now forced to form his opinions on the world of politics around him; and unquestionably he found much amiss in its present state. Looking back in after-years, Hyde might condemn the impatience of an opposition which nursed what then seemed factious discontent in the midst of unprecedented prosperity. But there can be no doubt that he himself, with a steady loyalty to the established constitution, with an enthusiastic devotion to the Church, and with a hatred of any tendency to revolution, was nevertheless imbued with some dislike of the existing *régime*, some suspicion of its wisdom, and some dread of its tendency to strain the royal prerogative unduly. His opinions were crystallizing, as they must crystallize with a man whose life and work were developing, and before whom there lay the promise of a wide sphere of influence. His own lines seemed to lie in pleasant places. He was esteemed by the great and powerful, and his home was one of exceptional happiness. His business was rapidly increasing, and he felt attracted to the active pursuit of his profession with all the pleasure that successful effort brings in its train. He gives us a

picture of his own position, and a retrospect of his career so far, which is characteristic at once in its candour and in its complacency.

"Under this universal acquaintance and general acceptation," he tells us, "Mr. Hyde led for many years as cheerful and pleasant a life as any man did enjoy, as long as the kingdom took any pleasure in itself. His practice grew every day as much as he wished, and would have been much more if he had wished it; by which he not only supported his expense, greater much than men of his rank and pretences used to make, but increased his estate by some convenient purchases of land adjoining to his other: and he grew so much in love with business and practice that he gave up his whole heart to it; resolving, by a course of severe study, to recover the time he had lost upon less profitable learning, and to intend nothing else, but to reap all those benefits to which that profession could carry him, and to the pursuing whereof he had so many and so unusual encouragements; and towards which it was not the least that God had blessed him with an excellent wife, who perfectly resigned herself to him, and who then had brought him, before any troubles in the kingdom, three sons and a daughter, which he then and ever looked upon as his greatest blessing and consolation."

An open path to smooth and secure professional success; an ample competence; domestic comfort; an acceptance in the choicest social circles that satisfied his human interest, made still more pleasant by his possession of a vein of gentle self-complacency—these seemed now the prospect before Hyde. Far as he is removed above the social, moral, and intellectual plane of Pepys, it is impossible not to recognize a quaint similarity in the self-congratulation with which both men regard their own careers, as they find themselves gradually advancing by sure and cautious steps to a consideration amidst the more imposing figures round them. The initial resemblance adds piquancy to the after-contrast.

Pepys played his little *rôle* of sprightly industry, of alert assurance, and of shrewd competence, consistently to the end. Hyde, in spite of all the traits of early superficial likeness, was cast in heroic mould, and ordained to play a foremost part in a tragedy for all time. With him the petty aims of self-advancement gradually disappeared, as heavy burdens crowded on him; the garment of self-complacency fell away from him, as he laboured to reach a haven after a long storm, and strove to reconstruct the monarchy after its disasters; and when great office came, it had lost for him all its allurements.

Already he discerned that he was gaining his experience even now in a dangerous school. In later life he was, he tells us,

"often wont to say that when he reflected upon himself and his past actions, he had much more cause to be terrified upon the reflection than the man had who viewed Rochester Bridge in the morning that it was broken, and which he had galloped over in the night; that he had passed over more precipices than the other had done, for many nights and days, and some years together; from which nothing but the immediate hand of God could have preserved him."

His associates had not all been of the type of Falkland and of Selden. He had mingled with the licence of Alsatia, and knew the rough soldiers of fortune in their cups and over the gaming-table. Scenes of reckless extravagance and unrestrained debauchery had passed before his eyes. But "he had, by God's immediate blessing, disentangled himself from these labyrinths (his nature and inclination disposing him rather to pass through those dissolute quarters than to make any stay in them), and was enough composed against any extravagant excursions." Severe men, he confesses, thought him for a time a "person

of more licence than in truth he was." Hyde was, in fact, neither the victim of undue self-laudation nor of morbid self-abasement. From the first he steered his bark through the dangerous eddies with consummate skill; and his experiences were of untold value to him in his after-life. He recognized his own infirmities, but he had self-knowledge enough to measure them duly; "by a providential mercy they were seasonably restrained from growing into vices, at least into any that were habitual." He had ambition enough "to raise his spirit to great designs of raising himself, but not to transport him to endeavour it by any crooked and indirect means." He could proudly boast that "he was never suspected to flatter the greatest men, or in the least degree to dissemble his own opinions or thoughts." He does not forget to confess that "he indulged his palate very much, and took even some delight in eating and drinking well, but without any approach to luxury, and, in truth, rather discoursed like an epicure than was one"; and in later years, he learned in the school of adversity to know what it was often to go without a meal. "He had a fancy sharp and luxuriant; but so carefully cultivated and strictly guarded that he never was heard to speak a loose or a profane word: which he imputed to the chastity of the persons where his conversation usually was, where that sort of wit was religiously detested." That was no mean boast for one who knew the courtiers of Charles I. and was the intimate associate of his successor.

He knew his failings of temper as well as of temperament.

"He was in his nature," so he confesses, "inclined to pride and passion, and to a humour between wrangling and disputing very troublesome, which good company in a short time so much reformed and mastered, that no man was more affable and courteous to all kind of persons: and they who knew the great infirmity of his whole family, which abounded

in passion, used to say that he had much extinguished the unruliness of that fire."

With a candour that is almost more rare and more courageous, he notes for us his better qualities.

"That which supported and rendered him generally acceptable was his generosity (for he had too much a contempt of money) and the opinion men had of the goodness and justice of his nature, which was transcendent in him, in a wonderful tenderness and delight in obliging. His integrity was ever without blemish, and believed to be above temptation. He was firm and unshakable in his friendship: and though he had great candour towards others in the differences of religion, he was zealously and deliberately fixed in the principles both of the doctrine and discipline of the Church, yet he used to say to his nearest friends, in that time when he expected another kind of calm for the remainder of his life, 'though he had some glimmering light of, and inclination to, virtue in his nature, that the whole progress of his life had been full of desperate hazards; and that only the merciful hand of God Almighty had prevented his being both an unfortunate and a vicious man,' and he still said 'that God had vouchsafed that signal goodness to him for the piety and exemplar virtue of his father and mother,' whose memory he had always in veneration."

A smaller man might well have shrunk from such Ciceronian frankness of self-delineation, which the greatness of Hyde's after-work securely redeems from the imputation of self-conceit. As it is, we accept it as only one more of the matchlessly clear-cut cameos of his contemporaries which he has bequeathed to us. He had come through the furnace without scathe; and quotes with enjoyment the saying of his kinsman and bosom friend, Hyde, afterwards Chief Justice, "that his cousin had passed his time very luckily, and with notable success, and was like to be very happy

in the world : but he would never advise any of his friends to walk in the same paths, or to tread in his steps."

Such was Hyde's life till 1639, when the seemingly clear horizon of England became darkened with thick clouds. The disturbance arose from Scotland.

CHAPTER III

THE SCOTTISH TROUBLES AND THE SHORT PARLIAMENT

In 1633, when all seemed to be going well with the Government in England, in spite of the cessation of Parliaments since 1629, and when there was no outward sign of the undercurrent of uneasiness or discontent, the King had made a progress to Scotland, in order to be crowned and to investigate the position of matters there. He was attached to the country of his birth with a warmth of affection with which Hyde had no sympathy, and which he seems to have regarded as an amiable weakness on the part of the King. This was enough to give a motive for the journey; but behind it lay another, inspired by Laud—the hope of settling the Church on a sounder basis and bringing it into closer conformity with Laud's ideal for the Church of England. Charles inherited to the full the nervous dread and the innate dislike of Presbyterianism which the irksome experience of his earlier years had impressed upon his father.

His progress to the North was arranged on a scale of unprecedented splendour, and involved expenditure in the same proportion. The leading nobles were summoned to attend, and found a new opportunity of indulging that lavish display which suited the taste and fashion of the day, and which, by crippling many goodly estates, gave new motives for the rapacious greed characteristic of the aristocracy of the period. The Scottish nobility met the

King on his journey. Their real power, and their independence of the restraints of the law or of the authority of the Crown, were greater even than those of their class in England. But their extortions, however ruthless, were drawn from a poverty-stricken country, and their wealth was much less; yet their hereditary pride forbade their being outshone by the English aristocracy in the lavishness of their display, and they vied with each other in the number of their retainers, in the costliness of their equipage, and in the extravagance of their hospitality. A show of luxury and a pretence of cordiality were mere coverings for virulent jealousy and boundless schemes of disloyal ambition.

Outwardly, indeed, matters seemed to go smoothly enough. The Parliament met, and some Acts were passed for restraining the power of the nobility, who seemed for the moment to acquiesce. In their apparent submission Hyde discerns only craftiness of dissimulation.

Laud, still Bishop of London, but soon to be advanced to the Primacy, accompanied the King on this progress, and was at his elbow to stimulate his zeal for ecclesiastical uniformity. Although Episcopacy existed in name in Scotland, it was a hollow pretence. The bishops had neither power nor consideration. The rigid creed and the rugged and unseemly worship of uncompromising Presbyterianism were dominant throughout the land, and held the spirit of the people in the chain of keen and militant enthusiasm. Charles and his clerical adviser saw the difficulty of their task, but wrongly judged that by temporizing they might gain their object. They were badly seconded alike by their lay and by their clerical allies in the country. The first offered only a semblance of support, and were quick to discern in the gathering religious storm a new opportunity for strengthening their own power. The second were men, for the most part, of low rank and feeble judgment—whom

habit had made too timid to assert themselves, and who were unable to give any useful advice as to methods. It was hard to say whether it would be best to introduce the English liturgy unchanged, or to devise a modified liturgy for Scottish use. The latter course might rouse new jealousy of innovation, and give rise to fears of papistical leanings; the former course might inflame the national passion for independence, which watched with angry jealousy any undue imitation of English modes and fashions. The result was the usual refuge of feeble counsels—procrastination, which only gave the irritation time to mature. It was left to the Scottish hierarchy, in consultation with some of their brethren in England, to frame a liturgy which was to be submitted to the King.

Before he returned from Scotland, Charles carried out one part of the scheme which must have been dear to the heart of Laud. The hierarchy was made more imposing. Hitherto the capital had only formed a part of the diocese of St. Andrews; but now a Bishopric of Edinburgh was created, and a Cathedral and Chapter were endowed. A still more marked offence was given at once to the nobility, jealous of their own exclusive hold over the administration, and to the deep-rooted predilections of the nation, by adopting the course so dear to Laud in England, of placing ecclesiastics in possession of civil power. Archbishop Spottiswoode of St. Andrews was made Lord Chancellor; and several of the Bishops were summoned to the Privy Council, and placed on the Bench of the Court of Session. Charles and his ecclesiastical adviser were equally unconscious of the storm which their rash attempt to realize a visionary dream was soon to evoke.

The liturgy was drawn up by the Scottish bishops and revised by their English brethren. Every error and defect of diplomacy were illustrated in the methods pursued.

The ecclesiastical Canons were promulgated before the liturgy was issued, and not only were they published without the assent of the Scottish Council, but they compelled the clergy to submit upon oath to a liturgy which they had not seen. With unconscious irony, Laud employed, upon a people most jealous of their national independence, and upon consciences most envenomed with hatred of prelatical pretensions, methods which might well have strained the allegiance of the most docile of his Anglican followers. Not content with fastening upon the untameable fierceness of the fanatical Presbyterian religious ordinances which his soul loathed, the Canons invaded the field of Civil Government by claiming for the Crown a prerogative "according to the pattern of the Kings of Israel," which was in contradiction to every tenet of Scottish tradition.

It was in 1637 that the first attempt to read the liturgy took place, and the riots which it produced fill a lively page in history, possessing its ludicrous as well as its serious side. They were evoked quite as much by a fit of angry temper as by the force of national and deeply-rooted indignation. They drowned, in a sort of tidal wave, a side of Scottish life neither the least intellectual nor the least attractive. They left behind them in their course a deeply riven ravine, which separated the great mass of Scottish feeling for generations from much that was most characteristic of English feeling. The anger gathered strength as it advanced, and identified itself with some of the strongest fibres of Scottish national life. But for the moment it is chiefly memorable because it showed how much havoc can be worked by inept persistency in the pursuit of an aim, unaided by foresight, firmness of action, or dexterity of method. It may still be permitted us to believe that wiser counsels, better strategy, and firmer resolution than were to be found in the partnership between Charles and Laud, might have

attained, without civil war, all the essential objects at which they aimed.

But the heather was now on fire. The Assembly of the Church, and the lay councils which were known as "The Tables," and which were composed of representatives of all the Estates, met without any authority from the Crown. The Bishops were excommunicated, and their remnant of authority was defied. Even while outward observances of respect to the Crown were maintained, the nation as a whole bound itself by a Covenant to demand the total extirpation of prelacy; and steps were taken to enlist an army, of which General Lesley, a veteran of the wars of Gustavus Adolphus, was placed in command.

Charles was compelled to raise an army to meet the threatened rebellion; and thanks to careful management of the Treasury, he had ample means at his command. The Earl of Arundel was appointed general; the Earl of Essex, lieutenant-general; and the Earl of Holland, general of the horse. The Marquis of Hamilton, whose fidelity Hyde always counted more than questionable, was placed in command of a fleet, which was to blockade the Firth of Forth. Of all those named, the Earl of Essex was the only wise selection; and it was not long before he received cause for reasonable offence. For the present, he rendered the only useful service, by advancing in rapid marches and seizing Berwick for the King.

Charles himself now proceeded towards Scotland, summoning the nobility to attend him on his progress, and imposing on them a "protestation" of their loyalty. It was a tactless error, which did not increase his forces by a single man, and enabled two leading nobles, Lord Say and Sele and Lord Brooke, to find a constitutional reason for emphasizing their disagreement with the King by refusing to take the oath.

Charles reached the neighbourhood of Berwick, and effected a juncture with the troops of Essex. He had a force amply sufficient to have crushed any army which the Scots could bring against him. But Holland, with positive treachery or absolute incompetence, withdrew from the front of Lesley's little army at Dunse, and returned to the camp of the King. His reception there was so cordial, that it looks as if this pusillanimous retreat was contrived with the consent of the King. Charles seems to have thought that rebellion could be stamped out by a flaunting of troops in the face of the rebels, and by allowing these rebels to gain confidence from the weakness of his opposition.

But the really dangerous element in the situation was that the Scots had established close relations with many in Charles's own army. They still used, in all their addresses, the semblance of loyalty, and couched their petitions in language of fulsome adulation. It was a studied device, which preserved those who trafficked with them from the penalties of avowed treason. A so-called "treaty" was made, "That the armies were to be disbanded; an Act of Oblivion passed; the King's forts and castles to be restored; an Assembly and Parliament called for a full settlement; no persons reserved for justice, because no fault had been committed."[1] As a fact, those stipulations only which served to mark the triumph of the rebels were effective; the King had sacrificed the advantage of force that was in his hand to a semblance of submission in which his authority was openly flouted.

The effect amongst his immediate surroundings was equally disastrous. His own army was disbanded. Essex was permanently alienated. Holland, whose inefficiency had been condoned, drew his connection with the Scots more

[1] This is Clarendon's own summary of the Treaty of Berwick (*History of Rebellion*, ii. 50).

close without losing his influence at Court. Sir Henry Vane, whose character showed no consistent trait except that of undeviating treachery, through the cunning design of one who was almost as treacherous as himself, the Marquis of Hamilton, became Secretary of State. On the other hand, the Scots not only defied the authority of the King within their own borders, but stimulated opposition in England, and were in negotiation with Richelieu, who saw in the encouragement of rebellion an admirable opportunity of aiming a blow at England's power. The turbulent Scottish aristocracy were confirmed in their independence, and knew themselves safe against any renewed assertions of the royal prerogative. Their power of mischief was limited only by the fact that they fought, each for his own hand; and the treachery of Hamilton was rivalled and balanced by that of Argyle.

It was plain that if the power of the Crown was not to sink into contempt, some resistance must be made to what was not only a defiance of its authority, but, by the maintenance of the Scottish army on the English border, was a standing menace to the peace of England. The carefully gathered resources of the Exchequer had been scattered in a vain march, ending in a disgraceful capitulation, which bore the name of a treaty. Charles was at his wits' end. He consulted his council, and by their unanimous advice[1] he resolved to summon a Parliament. The first step in the surrender of a strained prerogative was taken.

We have seen how deeply, in spite of outward prosperity, the canker of discontent was working. Laud's diary shows that already he had misgivings, although but a short time before he had drawn up a report upon the state of his diocese that had shown all well. The schemes which he and Strafford

[1] Laud tells us (in *Strafford Correspondence*) that he was one of the leaders in the advice.

had cherished jointly were becoming tangled. Strafford himself must have seen clearly the fatal weakness and vacillation of the King, and appreciated in their true significance the devious methods of disloyalty at Court. But outwardly there was no sign of the angry fretfulness, and none of the bold defiance of rebellion. On the eve of the summoning of Parliament Lord Wentworth (as he then was) was raised to the title of Earl of Strafford, by which he is known to history, although he held that title scarcely a year; and when the Parliament met he was introduced with all pomp to a submissive and adulatory House.[1] Royalty preserved all its old dignity, and the King was still addressed in words which accorded with the elaborate and fulsome courtesy of the day, and had insensibly habituated men's minds to an almost slavish reverence for the Crown. Just a year before the Parliament met (on March 27th, 1639) Charles had listened to an address from Sir Thomas Widdrington, the Recorder of York, which began with these words:

"Most Gracious and Dread Sovereign, Be graciously pleased to pardon this stay, that we, the least and meanest motes in the Firmament of your Majesty's Government, should thus dare to cause you (our bright and glorious Sun) to stand. . . . Give us leave, who are the members of this Ancient and decayed City, to make known unto your Majesty (even our Sun itself) where the Sun now stands in the City of York."

It would be easy to parallel these words by many similar utterances. No one yet dreamed that the Crown and its dignity were to be assailed. Rumours of Scottish turbulence had scarcely yet penetrated into England. The various wrangling factions at the Court had found, as they fancied, new chances of increasing their influence in the confused

[1] In the House of Lords, Whitelocke tells us, thanks were paid to Strafford for his part in the summoning of Parliament.

negotiations with the Scots. Those more ardent spirits who chafed at Laud's ecclesiastical innovations, and at Strafford's domination; those scattered victims who had suffered from the various unconstitutional tribunals; the wealthy landowners whose properties were crippled by fines, and the lawyers who found the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts interfered with, doubtless recognized that the summoning of Parliament must clip the wings of the prerogative. But none of them contemplated an impending struggle in which the Crown would, in a few months, have to listen to words of thinly veiled insult and open defiance, instead of the language of an almost oriental servility.

It was on April 13th, 1640, that Parliament once more met after an interval of eleven years; and for the first time Hyde found himself embarked definitely on a political career, as member of the assembly which was soon to make itself the sovereign influence in the constitution. It says much for the influence and credit that he had already gained at two-and-thirty, that he was chosen for two places—Wotton Basset in Wilts, and Shaftesbury in Dorset; and the double election proves that he did not owe his seat to the nomination of a patron. He selected to sit for Wotton Basset. When he entered Parliament, it did not involve any serious interference with his professional career. Men had grown accustomed to count Parliamentary service as merely one of many occupations of life; and if they contemplated a continuance of the revived assembly, no one could dream that its sessions would be so prolonged or so continuous as seriously to encroach upon their other business.[1] It was a position which the young lawyer would assume as the natural appendage of his rank as a country gentleman of

[1] The House met at eight o'clock and sat till midday. The afternoon was assigned to the work of committees, but no one foresaw that such work would be as constant and engrossing as it became. The business of a lawyer was largely done in the afternoon.

influence and credit, and which he would regard as likely to enhance his professional standing. It involved no divorce from the business of his life, and just as little was it looked upon as a step towards employment under the Crown. That was assigned on other grounds than those of Parliamentary service.

But Hyde clearly entered Parliament with a full intention of playing his part in the redress of grievances and in curbing claims of prerogative which the great mass of professional opinion held to be grievous errors, quite as likely to work injury to the Crown as to the liberty of the subject. This attitude he assumed as a matter of course, and it was the almost inevitable line for any independent man entering a House of Commons which had been summoned because the position under the administration of the last eleven years had become impossible, and of which the members were sent there solely to redress the existing grievances. There is not the smallest evidence that he acted in any way as a member of a party, or that any scheme of procedure was jointly arranged. The party opposed to the Court was virtually the whole nation. If any deliberate scheme was operative at all, it was only amongst a very small group, with which Hyde had little connection, and it is doubtful whether even they had very definite aims in these earlier months. There was no organized opposition; and it is clear that even while he was boldly and openly attacking some phases of strained prerogative, Hyde did not regard himself as hostile to the Crown, and continued in the closest intimacy with Laud himself. He chose his attitude as the result of his own deliberate opinion, and without fear or favour. It could not secure the gratitude of the Court, although it led to no breach of favour. On the other hand, no thought of ambition could have prompted him to court the favour of an opposition, which neither had,

nor to all appearance was likely to have, any favour to bestow.

The opening scenes of the session saw no diminution in the ample and ceremonious loyalty towards the King which the fashion of the day prescribed. In the reception given to the King's speech, in the choice of a Speaker,[1] and in the terms of the address made by the Speaker on behalf of the House, there was no jarring word which could indicate any deliberate intention of pressing opposition to lengths which would infringe on the lavish respect paid to the Crown, far less of seriously altering the balance of the constitution. The consistent note of the debates is that grievances were to be redressed, not by alterations of that balance, but by the removal of what were either innovations or at most troublesome accretions that had grown up through neglect, and were cumbering the administrative machine. We are even told that when ship-money was, by a too impetuous lawyer, stigmatized as an "abomination," the susceptibilities of the House were shocked, and the too zealous orator narrowly escaped censure for his unbridled tongue. A susceptibility so delicate is not without its humorous aspect, in the light of later events.

The opening speech [2] dealing with the general grievances

[1] Serjeant Glanvil was really the choice of the King, whose wish was submissively accepted by the House. Hyde describes him as "a man very equal to the work, very well acquainted with the proceedings in Parliament; of a quick conception, and of a ready and voluble expression, dexterous in disposing the House, and very acceptable to them." Much latitude was allowed to the Speaker, and he intervened on behalf of the Crown in one important debate in committee, where another member took the chair. His speech on that occasion was admirably conceived, and all but commanded the assent of the House; and yet, because he had to balance his advocacy of a generous grant by some strictures on ship-money, he was (as Hyde declares) the object of suspicion at Court. Charles had, indeed, an admirable faculty of alienating some of his most useful allies.

[2] In regard to the course of this Short Parliament, Professor S. R. Gardiner speaks with his usual contempt of Hyde's account and of his personal position. It is true that Hyde wrongly places Pym first in order of time, as he was first in importance amongst the speakers. The error is

resulting from the cessation of Parliament, was made by Harbottle Grimston,[1] the member for Colchester; but the chief part in the debate fell to the man even then the most experienced Parliamentarian in the House, and soon to be the central figure of a determined opposition—Pym. A few weeks were to show Pym's wonderful astuteness as a parliamentary strategist, and at the same time to disclose the unsuspected extent of his aims and objects; but now he began a discourse of two hours by mentioning the King "with the most profound reverence," and commending his wisdom and justice.

The next day Hyde made his maiden speech, and devoted it to an attack upon the flagrant abuses of the Earl Marshal's Court. This court was one of those fungous growths which had vastly swollen during the non-parliamentary interval, and which really benefited no one but its president,[2] and the crowd of legal myrmidons who battened on its extortions. The royal prerogative derived neither strength nor revenue from the fantastic and grotesque jurisdiction which that court claimed; and probably had Strafford not

not a serious one. If we wish for a clear and vivid picture of the debates, and a statement of their essential meaning, some will prefer Clarendon to Professor Gardiner. It is difficult, from the mass of the Professor's intricate comments, to follow the procedure at all. The closing words of his comment on the whole procedure are in his usual tone of depreciation. Hyde's regret for the failure of any compromise he explains thus: "Hyde never knew what he wanted beyond some dream of his own . . . in which tyranny and sedition were to be renounced as equally impracticable." We may all stigmatize each other's aims as "dreams," but, as described, Hyde's object does not seem altogether undesirable. To assert that he did not know what he wanted, and to decry his "lawyer-like dexterity," do not savour of very novel or impartial criticism.

[1] Harbottle Grimston was almost as moderate in his views as Hyde himself. He belonged to an ancient and wealthy family, and by the death of his brother became heir to his father's baronetcy and ample estate. Such a man was not the stuff of which revolutionaries are made. At a later day he resisted Cromwell, and presided over the Convention Parliament which restored Charles II.

[2] The Earl Marshal was the Earl of Arundel, of whose character and intellect Hyde had perhaps an unduly mean opinion, and who repaid the favours of the Crown to which he owed his impunity in the extravagant licence of his jurisdiction, by what Hyde deemed disloyalty and ingratitude.

had weightier business in hand, he might have swept away such sorry and ridiculous scandals of administration. Hyde's attack upon its abuses was based upon ridicule as well as invective, and a very meagre recital of the antics of this court was enough to cover it with contempt. Trumpery charges; fictitious insults based upon harmless jests on a nobleman's coat-of-arms; extravagant attempts on the part of aristocratic spendthrifts to evade their debts by charging their base-born creditors with scant obeisance to their rank—such instances in abundance could be adduced from the most recent records of the court, and it appeared that it had not even the merit of antiquity, because some of its precedents dated only from 1633. It was a subject admirably fitted for the first effort of the young Parliamentarian. Hyde made deft use of it, and did not spoil his effort by any excess of vituperation, or by personal reflection upon the aristocrat whose privileges were threatened.[1] He achieved an eminent success. As he complacently reports, "that being the first part he had acted upon that stage, brought him much applause; and he was ever afterwards heard with great benignity." A few months later, he had even better evidence of the efficacy of his speech. The "great man" who was attacked so far debased his greatness as to make court to

[1] "The modesty of that time not permitting the mention of great men with any reproach" (*Life*, i. 82). Such excess of modesty was short-lived.

But while we allow all credit to Hyde for his attack upon the antics of this court, it is ridiculous to claim for that attack the merit of a sublime patriotism, which Hyde himself would have been the first to disavow. The claim is made, in the true spirit of orthodox Whiggism, by Mr. Lister, who, with equal absurdity, passes many a censure upon Hyde wherever he seems to act contrary to the accepted maxims of that creed. The powers of the Earl Marshal's Court were really a survival, which was not without a certain quaint piquancy, but which no man could seriously defend. To treat them as an adjunct of the royal prerogative, or as involving great constitutional questions, shows a lack of humour. There are some picturesque and equally absurd survivals still; but they are not felt to be of primary importance. Hyde found in the Earl Marshal's Court a good subject for a maiden speech, which could offend nobody but the hangers-on of the Court.

the invader of his privileges, to thank him for "having treated his person so civilly," and to excuse himself by the ill advice of injudicious lawyers; winding up with a profession of kindness and esteem "when in his heart he did him the honour to detest and hate him perfectly, as he professed to all whom he trusted."

But the course of Parliamentary procedure did not long run so smoothly. The Court was at its wits' end for money, and a mere discussion of past grievances, however respectful the language in which it was carried on, could not fill the coffers of the King, or enable suitable preparations to be made for the threatened renewal of hostilities by the Scots. In despair of other methods, the agents of the Court suggested to the House of Lords that they should move the Commons to grant a supply, and to proceed afterwards to discuss their grievances. It is strange that such inept advice should be given; stranger still that it should be accepted. It can only be explained by the curious apathy to Parliamentary rights, bred by eleven years of Parliamentary suspension. It gave rise to vehement protests from the Commons against the gross breach of privilege, and from that moment a new temper was aroused. The feeling in the Commons was unanimous; and Hyde was as indignant as his fellow-members at the unprecedented presumption of the Lords. Profuse apologies were offered; the Lords protested that in offering their advice they had no thought of dictating the methods of the grant. But the mischief was done, and there were plenty of men in the House of Commons who might hesitate to infringe the tone of respect adopted by universal assent, but were in no wise unwilling to see a sturdier spirit prevail.

Another expedient was adopted. Sir Henry Vane, the new Secretary of State, was commissioned by the King to offer a bargain to the House. If they would grant him twelve subsidies, he "would release all his title or pretence to

ship-money." It was a singularly clumsy proposal. Bargains of the kind are in their essence inadmissible. They bring discredit on both sides. If ship-money was justified by the prerogative of the Crown, the King could not abandon it without legislative enactment; if it were doubtful, the Commons could not carry out their side of the compact without seeming to condone an illegal act, by admitting that the King had some right which he could bargain away. Their grants must be free gifts, not the payment of a price. On the next day there was a debate of what was then deemed unprecedented length, but was soon to be usual, lasting from nine in the morning till four in the afternoon. It was renewed the following day, and then appeared the arts of Parliamentary tactics on both sides. Hampden—whom Hyde judges to have been "the most popular man" in the House—proposed to put the question in the bluntest form, "whether the House would consent to the proposition, as contained in the message?" This would infallibly have produced a negative vote, as the vast majority of the House deemed the amount excessive; and although Glanvil, the Speaker, intervened with a persuasive speech in the debate in committee to advocate the proposal, the intervention was in vain, and the opponents of the Court insisted upon Hampden's question. Then it was that Hyde, for the first time, showed that he could add to a brilliant maiden speech an astonishing skill in the tactics of debate; and his action for the first time indicates that he was not prepared to go all lengths in opposition to the Court. He moved that the first question should be merely whether they would grant a supply or not; and that thereafter they might discuss the amount and manner of the grant. This device commanded a large measure of assent, and almost foiled the scheme of Hampden and Pym. The House was fairly divided, and alternate cries for "Mr. Hampden's motion," "Mr. Hyde's

motion" were shouted from the benches. Hyde might have won a decisive triumph, and the impending struggle might have been materially modified, or even averted. But a strange intervention on the part of Herbert, the Solicitor-General, and Sir Henry Vane, the Secretary of State, scattered to the winds all hope of pacification. Herbert opposed the proposal, and he was vehemently supported in his opposition by Vane. Vane was an emissary of ill omen for the King, and it is doubtful whether he only transmitted an ill-judged message which he had not attempted to avert, or deliberately invented a device which he intended should lead to trouble. Whatever may be the truth,[1] Vane rose and announced that "the carrying that question could be of no use;" as he had authority to tell them that a vote otherwise than in the proportion and manner proposed would not be accepted by the King. There was nothing for it but to adjourn the House till the next day. The peevishness and pride of Herbert wrought as hurtfully to the King as they did on many a future occasion;[2] and the perverted ingenuity of

[1] The King is reported by Hyde as having afterwards "declared with great anger that he had never given Vane any such authority" (*History of Rebellion*, ii. 79). "It is incredible," says Professor Gardiner, "that Vane should have acted thus without express authority from Charles." Credibility is not a safe guide with regard to Vane's action, and we must remember that Vane in the Council pressed twelve subsidies against eight, which was the reduced figure advised by Strafford, and adopted after careful discussion. Vane, therefore, either altered the deliberate decision of the Council with the informal assent of the King, or he made a false representation to the House of Commons. The distinction between the two views of his conduct does not seem a material one. Hyde does not profess to know, but he indicates what was the general, and not ill-grounded, opinion.

[2] Edward Herbert was cousin to Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and was born in 1590. In the first stages of his legal and Parliamentary career his attitude was rather that of an opponent of the Court, and he was engaged in the impeachment of Buckingham in 1626. But soon after, he obtained advancement at Court, and we hear of him as one of those who (with Hyde) arranged the masque for the Royal entertainment in 1634. He became Solicitor-General in 1639, and Attorney-General in 1640; and soon after was involved in suspicion with the Parliament, as having drawn the charges against the five members whom Charles attempted to arrest. From that time he was an avowed Royalist; but his sulky temper, and his confused arguments made him of little advantage as an adherent. He died in 1657.

Vane [1] brought him one step nearer to the vengeance on Strafford and Laud which was now the master passion of his life.[2]

The case was now bad enough, but evil counsels at Court soon made it worse. All now feared that a fit of temper might bring about a dissolution. Hyde saw the danger, and when the debate closed he hastened to Lambeth to impress his own alarm upon Laud. He found him as usual in his garden, already depressed by the fear of impending disaster. Hyde told him the general expectation, and besought him "to use all his credit to prevent such a desperate counsel as dissolution." He represented the temper and disposition of the House as such as could never be hoped for again, and expressed his conviction that whatever obstruction there might be, there was no settled intention of disturbing the Government of the King. Laud absolutely declined to interfere; he would neither persuade nor dissuade the dissolution, and he made it plain that, in his view, delay and obstruction were tantamount to deliberate disobedience to the behests of the King. On May 5th the King hurried to the House of Lords in unseemly haste, and, summoning the Commons, dissolved the Parliament which had sat but three weeks.

[1] Sir Henry Vane, the elder, was born in 1589. At an early age, after leaving Oxford, he attached himself to the Court. He obtained the honour of knighthood from James I. in 1611, was employed on various foreign missions, and managed by shrewdness and obsequiousness to become the holder of several lucrative posts, by which his wealth rapidly increased. His abilities were very meagre, and his promotion to the post of Secretary soon after was not explained by any personal eminence. His wealth enabled him to purchase Raby Castle, and it was the assumption by Strafford, as his second title, of the name of Baron Raby, that made Vane his sworn enemy.

[2] In the life of Edmund Waller, prefixed to his poems, an incident is told which shows that Waller concurred with Hyde, and was anxious to bring about a reasonable settlement. Waller was, it appears, so far in credit at Court, that he had been asked by the King to exert himself for the grant. He heard Vane's announcement with dismay, and "spoke earnestly to Sir Thomas Jermyn, Comptroller of the Household, to save his master from the effects of so bold a falsity." But Sir Thomas did not venture to intervene, and "his son, the Earl of St. Albans, afterwards told Mr. Waller that his father's cowardice ruined the King."

Within an hour after this fatal dissolution, Hyde met St. John. The customary gloom on St. John's morose face had given place to "a most cheerful aspect," and Hyde, as much against his usual wont, was gloomy and depressed. St. John asked him, "What troubled him?" "The same," answered Hyde, "as he believed troubled most good men; that in such a time of confusion, so wise a Parliament, which could only have found a remedy for it, was so unseasonably dismissed." St. John answered warmly, "That all was well; that it must be worse before it was better; and that this Parliament would never have done what was necessary to have been done." St. John doubtless spoke not for himself alone, but for plenty more; for Pym and Hampden, for Martin and the younger Vane, and, above all, for the member for Cambridge, Oliver Cromwell—a silent member in the first Parliament of 1640. The thin cloak of reverential submission was soon to be thrown aside. Dulness of perception had prevented Charles from using it to his advantage as and when he might have done so.

Parliament was dissolved on May 5th; on the 6th, papers were posted in the city calling on the apprentices to rise and attack the Archbishop in his palace at Lambeth. A few days later a rabble, according to some accounts five hundred strong,[1] gathered round the palace, and although it had been put into some state of defence, Laud was obliged to escape in disguise, and to take refuge in Whitehall. One of the rioters was hanged; but this did not prevent the outbreak of disorder elsewhere, and even on a more serious scale. The crop of libels on Laud was again heavy, and the turbulence which these showed was soon to rise higher.

[1] Clarendon (*Rebellion*, ii. 86) says "some thousands," and it would seem that his estimate is more likely to be correct. A gathering of five hundred people hardly deserves the name of a "riot."

Meanwhile every effort had to be made by the King's Council to prepare for the war with the Scots, and to replenish the Exchequer. In addition to the other evils which surrounded the King, there was the further evil of a divided Council.[1] Every effort was made to raise money: by loans, by ship-money, by voluntary contributions, or even by borrowing from Spain. Troops were levied by the royal warrant, but the efficacy of the warrant was disputed, and the troops, when raised, mutinied against their officers, and showed that little reliance could be placed on their fidelity when put to the test. The Earl of Northumberland was placed in command of the army, with Lord Conway for his general of horse—a tried soldier, but an indolent man, half-hearted in the work to which he was called, and too much inclined to the pleasures of the table, and to a life of debauchery, to be relied on for great efforts in a desperate cause. But he was possessed of no mean powers as a scholar, and was a man capable of warm friendship; and his social gifts, combined with his cordial support of the Church, had endeared him to Laud. He allowed himself to

[1] Of the King's counsellors the first and foremost, upon whose strength of purpose all must depend, was Strafford himself. But he could rely upon little firmness of resolution in the King, and he was himself hard pressed by dangerous illness, which frequently during these last months, rendered him incapable of action. Laud still carried on a vigorous policy in Convocation, which continued, with doubtful legality, to sit after Parliament was prorogued. Next to these was Lord Cottington, the Chancellor of the Exchequer—suave, bland, and far-sighted, but cautious and even timid in action. When Portland had been the "Lady Mora," or Lady Delay, of the Strafford and Laud correspondence, Cottington had been referred to as "Lady Mora's waiting-maid." Northumberland was joined to them "for ornament," and Bishop Juxon, of London, was Laud's faithful henchman, and held place as Lord Treasurer. Vane and Windebanke were the two Secretaries of State: the first was treacherous, and playing a double game; the second lay under a burden of odium which was soon to force him to withdraw himself from the vengeance of the Parliament. The Marquis of Hamilton had inspired a false confidence of his fidelity in the King, but was suspected, on good grounds, by the others, who knew that he was a worthy pendant to the double-minded Argyle. These constituted what was opprobriously known as the *Junto* or *Cabinet Council* (*Hist. of Rebellion*, ii. 99).

be outmanœuvred, and while attempting to dispute the passage of the Tyne by the Scots at Newburn, about four miles from Newcastle, his forces were routed, and he was compelled to yield Newcastle into the hands of the Scottish army. Strafford found that all depended upon himself, as the one spirit whom no adverse circumstances could dismay. It was as a desperate resource that he was appointed to, or it might be more correct to say assumed, the command of the army; but he found, when he betook himself, broken as he was in health, to the seat of war, all in the dismay attendant upon divided counsels, disaffection and treachery in full sway, and an army ill provided, mutinous, and with no true spirit of discipline. It was no wonder that his efforts to restore order in its ranks marshalled against him bitter feeling from every grade in the army. Those who had been silenced by his undisputed sway now summoned courage to plot against him, and did not scruple to accuse him as the head and fount of all that had aroused discontent throughout the kingdom.

The defeat at Newburn came at the end of August. Thereafter the Scots made new demands, and asked that commissioners should be appointed to treat. The advisers of the King could only suggest, as a temporary substitute for Parliament, that a Great Council of the Peers should be summoned. That Council met on September 24th, and the King announced in his opening speech his intention to summon a Parliament to meet on November 3rd. The Council was a futile experiment, that proved its own futility at the outset. Pending the meeting of Parliament, the King consulted them as to the steps to be taken in view of the rebel army which had invaded the country. To Charles himself most probably, and to Strafford most certainly, the best course would seem to be to prosecute the war. It was not the view of the

majority of the Great Council. The Earl of Bristol,[1] whose long experience and great abilities gave him preponderating weight, and who, although he had no reason for attachment to the Court, was not prepared to make any extreme and dangerous concession to its opponents, swayed the Council against any prosecution of the war. Commissioners were appointed to meet at Ripon, and finally a treaty which secured the Scots in the full enjoyment of all the advantages which they had won, and burdened the English exchequer with the pay of their army, encamped on English soil, was ratified on October 28th. To all the accumulated discontent arising from political grievances, there was now added, in the eyes of the nation, the costly indignity of a foreign army planted within their borders, to be maintained by the taxation of the English. It did not lessen the damage to the King's cause that amongst his opponents, and even amongst those who maintained an outward loyalty, there were not a few who found in the presence of that army, and in their own connection with its leaders, an added chance of insisting more peremptorily on their demands, and who foresaw a new function for the Parliament, so soon to meet, in mediating between that army and the King. The summoning of the Great Council was the device of timid advisers to an irresolute master, and was in itself a sign that Strafford's vigour was no longer the King's chief guide. The announcement that

[1] John Digby, the first Earl of Bristol, was born in 1580. At an early age he was employed in some embassies of the first importance, and had a most difficult part to play as ambassador to Spain when the Spanish marriage was contemplated. The complications that arose out of the ill-timed visit of Buckingham and Charles to Spain involved Bristol in disfavour, which led to a senseless attempt to impeach him. He was ordered not to obey the writ formally sent to him as a peer, but defied the order. For many years he had remained aloof from the Court, with dignified reserve. At a later day he was a friend to whom the Royalists owed much, and although he disapproved of Strafford's acts, he made a brave attempt to resist his execution. He died in 1654, and was succeeded by his more brilliant, but not so trustworthy son, of whom we shall afterwards hear much in Hyde's own story.

Parliament was to meet, inevitable as it had now become, really meant the abandonment of the bolder policy which Strafford's courage was prepared to face. In the diminished authority of that one counsellor of incomparable power, it is impossible not to see something of the evil influence of the Queen, who had long regarded his ascendency with jealousy, and who had all the rancour of a petty nature, with a keen appetite for power. She was blind to the real condition of the country and to the danger that threatened the Crown, and fancied that the shifting of ministers, as the result of her own clumsy political intrigue, would increase her personal authority. With the fatal deference to the whims and caprices of his wife which so often led Charles astray, he gave, as Hyde informs us, the credit of the concession to the wishes of his subjects in the summoning of Parliament, to her advice.

CHAPTER IV

HYDE IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT

It was on November 3rd, 1640, that the Parliament destined to play so large a part in our history began its long and eventful career. It was of far different temper from that Short Parliament which had met a few months before, and had run such a scanty course. In many places men of moderate views were set aside in favour of more pronounced reformers. The Recorder of London, Gardiner, designed by the King as Speaker, and eminently qualified for the position, lost his seat for London, where four members of the opposition were returned as the City members. The popular leaders made every effort to prevent Gardiner's election elsewhere. Selden was elected for the University of Oxford in place of a pronounced adherent of the Court. The same change was seen in many other elections. In place of Gardiner, Lenthal, a lawyer of no particular distinction, was nominated as Speaker, and obtained the approval of the Crown.

Hyde was again returned, but this time for the borough of Saltash. We do not know what occasioned the change of constituency; but apparently he was already sufficiently suspected of holding moderate views, to make it an object with some—in which they did not succeed—to invalidate his election.[1] His friendship for the Archbishop and his attachment to the Church were now too well known to permit of his being trusted by the advanced reformers. But he

[1] *Life*, i. 84.

was still on outwardly friendly, if not intimate, terms with those who were the chief opponents of the Court. Meeting Pym, a few days before the opening of Parliament, he learned something of the prevailing views. Pym told him—

"that they must now be of another temper than they were the last Parliament; that they must not only sweep the house clean below, but must pull down all the cobwebs which hung in the top corner, that they might not breed dust, and so make a foul house hereafter; that they had now an opportunity to make their country happy, by removing all grievances, and pulling up the causes of them by the roots, if all men would do their duties."

It was a plain enough warning to Hyde; and he had soon confirmation of it in the first of Pym's speeches, which showed an irreconcilable discontent. Pym still preserved an appearance of deference and respect for the person of the King; but he made a direct attack upon Strafford, and openly declared that his influence must be decisively ended.

None the less Hyde entered with full zest upon the work of moderate reform. He now abandoned his profession, and threw himself whole-heartedly into political business; nor, hard as his lot was to be in that sphere, did he ever utter a word that indicates any regret for his choice.

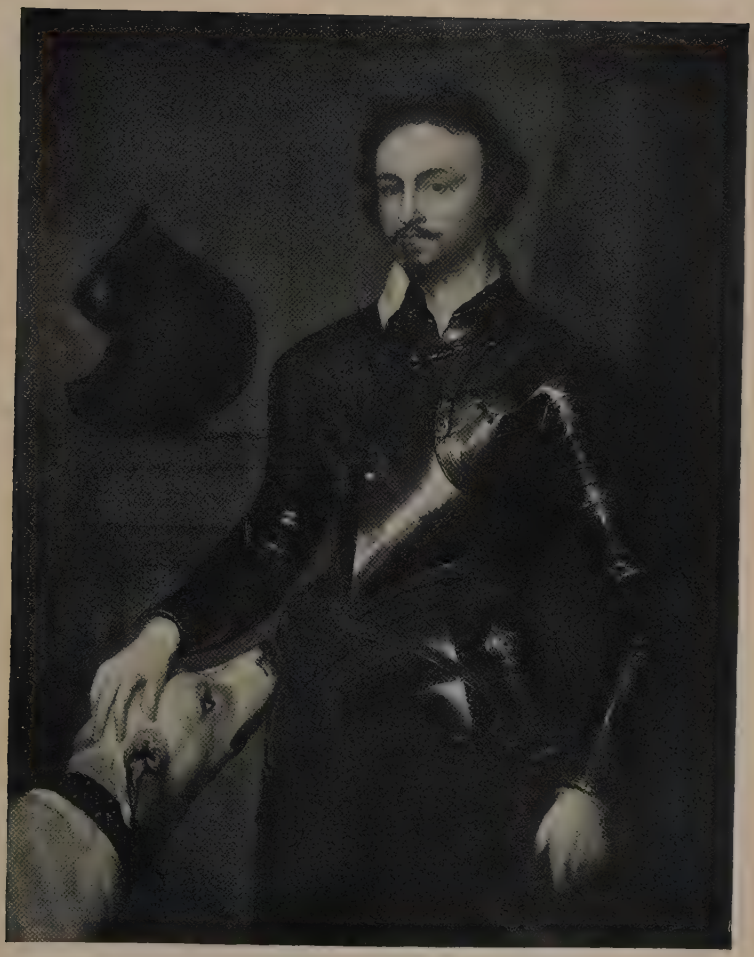
The leaders of the opposition, which soon showed itself determined to make no terms with those who might be disposed to counsels of moderation, were Pym and Hampden; and from the impression which these outstanding figures made upon him, in retrospect, we can gather the development of Hyde's own views. Pym was valued chiefly for his great experience in Parliamentary business, to which he joined considerable practical knowledge of administration derived from service in the Exchequer. Although he sided with the Puritans, he had none of their fanatical hatred of the

Church. But Hampden, while he acted as Pym's lieutenant, had powers in certain directions even greater than those of his chief. With a manner of consummate address, and a faculty of adroit insinuation, he joined the deepest design. After a youth of licence, he had "suddenly retired to extraordinary sobriety and strictness," but with nothing of the grim exterior which we associate with the character of the Puritans. Hampden's part in the great fight against ship-money, which had shown men that they must trust for the assertion of financial liberty not to the Law Courts, but to themselves, had assured him the confidence of all who distrusted the Government. That confidence he used with consummate prudence and ability. He rarely intervened early in a debate, but, when he had watched the position with the eye of a strategist, "he took up the argument, and shortly and clearly and craftily so stated it, that he commonly conducted it to the conclusion he desired." None were more skilled in dexterously avoiding a decision which he felt to be inexpedient. To outward seeming modest, he knew how to appear "to have no opinions or resolutions," but only to assume those of others which he was adroit enough to suggest. The long race of versatile and dexterous party leaders may be said fitly to take their start from one who could compare with the most skilful of the list. With such leaders as these opposed to him, it was hard for an untried new-comer to make an impression. That at thirty-two years of age, Hyde, with no dignity of aristocratic connection to help him, was able to make himself a power in the assembly, shows how high were his aptitudes for statesmanship.

It was only within comparatively narrow limits that such independence as he sought to maintain was possible. As a whole, the House was dominated by one opinion. They were called together to limit the prerogative as it had

recently been interpreted, and in that general view Hyde and Pym and Hampden were practically of one mind. For good or ill, the ideal which Strafford had set before him had passed away, and become impossible to realize. The notion that, so long as government was soundly and justly administered without respect of persons, and the needful revenue was justly raised, it was not of essential importance whether the Crown or Parliament were supreme, had disappeared with Strafford's power. To the Parliamentarian of the day, as to the Whig of last century, it mattered far more that the taxes should be regulated absolutely by Parliament than that they should be just in their incidence. According to the most approved doctrine of the Radical of the present day, taxation should be regulated according to the power to bear it; and there can be no doubt that the taxes (including ship-money) which Strafford imposed or contemplated, complied admirably with this doctrine. But the fundamental creed of the Parliament, now entering on its eventful career, assumed, as an axiom beyond question, that the vital point was that the authority of Parliament, and of Parliament alone, must stand behind just, as well as unjust, taxes; and that the whole foundation of liberty was founded upon that maxim.

But besides this axiomatic creed, which was doubtless shared by all, there was another influence, the most potent of all in the hands of astute Parliamentary tacticians, which affected the minds of many both in the House and in the nation. It was the influence of a vague and undefined fear. Strafford, it was felt, was their enemy, profound in design, prompt in action, unbending in resolution. There might just be time to master their enemy; if not, it must be theirs to suffer at his hand. There was no room in one kingdom for theories of government so radically opposed as his and theirs; and, in their view, it was their imperative duty to



SIR THOMAS WENTWORTH, FIRST EARL OF STRAFFORD.

(From the original by Sir Anthony Vandyke, in the National Portrait Gallery.)

show that his was incompatible with the Constitution, and was not only a policy to be combated, but a crime to be crushed out of life.

It was no wonder, then, that with scarcely a dissentient voice, Strafford was impeached on November 11th, was arrested in his place in the House of Lords on the same day, and committed to the Tower, and that in little more than two months the articles of his impeachment were drawn up and voted by the House. Falkland had ventured to urge that before proceeding to an impeachment they should hear the charges. Pym knew how to work through the suggestion of fear. "They could not afford to wait," he said; and each member felt that with Strafford at liberty, their freedom, perhaps their lives, were at stake. They demanded from the Lords the arrest and imprisonment of Strafford; and Hyde was one of the committee to whom the duty of framing the charges was subsequently entrusted.

The scene of Strafford's arrest was a dramatic one. He knew the threats against him, and fully realized the implacable enmity upon which they rested. At the request of the King, he had come from the security of his post in Yorkshire, as commander of the army. That summons was based upon a pledge of safety, which proved miserably insecure, and the emptiness of which none, most likely, recognized better than Strafford. When he heard of the impeachment, "I will go," he said, "and look my accusers in the face." His entrance into the House of Lords was greeted with shouts for his withdrawal; and when he left the House the order for his committal was immediately carried out. Summoned back, he was bidden to kneel while the order was read, and passed from the House in the custody of the Black Rod. A crowd awaited him outside, "no man capping to him, before whom that morning the greatest in England would have stood uncovered."

Strafford's fall from power was followed by the impeachment or dispersal of his associates and his satellites. Laud was impeached on December 18th, and had to linger three tedious years in the Tower before he was brought to trial. Whatever part Hyde took in the business of Strafford's impeachment, he certainly must have felt bitterly the hard measure dealt out to one with whom his relations had been so intimate, who had befriended him so warmly, and in whose rectitude he believed so implicitly as he did in that of Laud. But it did not prevent him from joining heartily in other reprisals determined on by the House. Finch, the Lord Keeper, and the most pronounced defender of ship-money, was impeached—Hyde emphasizing the crime by saying in the course of the debate, " 'Tis treason to kill a judge, how much more to slay justice itself ! " But the preliminaries, whether purposely, as Hyde suggests, or not, were so prolonged that Finch had time to withdraw to Holland.[1] The same opportunity was given to Windebanke, one of the Secretaries of State. Perhaps it was felt that such evidence as was given at his trial must inevitably involve their own ally, Sir Henry Vane, who was now playing the double part of a servant of the Crown and one of its bitterest opponents.

But there was other work than that of imprisonments and impeachments, and for a time Hyde gave steady and hearty co-operation in it. In his own words, " He was very much in the business of the House ; the greatest chairman in the committees of the greatest moment ; and very

[1] In a passage which was suppressed in the *History of the Rebellion*, Hyde distinctly states that Finch was allowed to escape by the connivance of the leaders of the Parliamentary party. He had taken the earliest opportunity of courting their favour, and had shown himself ready to help their designs, although he continued in the service of the King. They managed to prolong the discussion until the House of Lords had adjourned. Falkland was then commissioned to impeach him ; but it was known that he could not do it till next day, and meanwhile Finch escaped. Warburton says the passage was suppressed out of deference to the Earl of Nottingham (Finch's descendant). See *History of Rebellion* (edit. 1849), vol. vi. pp. 283, 503.

diligent in attending the service both in the House and at committees." From his being a member of a committee, we are not entitled to assume his support of all its proposals. But where he was chairman he must have had at least a dominating voice; and still more when he was nominated, as he frequently was, to report the matter to the House of Lords. He was chairman of the committee on the Earl Marshal's Court; and sat on the committee for examining the constitution and procedure of the Court of York and the Court of the Marches in Wales; on that regarding the judges' decision in ship-money; and on the committee for examining the Bill for abolishing Episcopacy. In the last he used his authority, as we shall see, in rather a peculiar way.

It must have been early in the session that Hyde found himself, casually, in the chair on a "private" committee for examining the legality of certain enclosures of common lands formerly belonging to the Queen, which had been given by her to a servant, and by him sold to the Earl of Manchester. The disputed enclosure was defended by Manchester and his son Lord Mandeville. One of the members of committee was Oliver Cromwell. In the course of the proceedings, Cromwell, in the obtrusive zeal of partisanship, conceived that the legal dispute had some political bearing, and advertised his enthusiasm for liberty by stimulating the passion of the tenants, who conceived themselves to be wronged; by casting aside all pretence of judicial impartiality, and by attacking with indecent rudeness that most courteous gentleman and most cordial ally of the popular party, Lord Mandeville. Hyde may perhaps be pardoned if his description of the scene is a little coloured by later and more serious grounds of antipathy. "In the end," Hyde tells us, "his (Cromwell's) whole carriage was so tempestuous, and his behaviour so insolent, that the chairman felt himself obliged to reprehend." He

threatened to adjourn the committee and report Cromwell's conduct to the House. "Which," adds Hyde, "he never forgave; and took all occasions afterwards to pursue him with the utmost malice and revenge, to his death." [1]

The anecdote must refer to the very earliest weeks of the session, because Hyde tells us that Cromwell had never before been heard to speak in the House of Commons. This may mean only that he was not an habitual speaker, and that Hyde had never heard him. But before December was over, Cromwell had moved the second reading of the Bill for Annual Parliaments, and had already become a familiar figure to most members of the House.

As chairman of the committee on what he himself (with an indication of its comparative unimportance) calls the "pageantry" of the Earl Marshal's Court, Hyde once more took up the theme which had furnished him with the matter of his successful maiden speech in the Short Parliament. But we may fairly say that judgment, in that case, went by default. There was really no defence offered for the court. It was voted to be "illegal and a grievance." It died of the resolution without any further blow, and "never presumed to sit afterwards," as a court by which penalties could be inflicted. It had served Hyde to good purpose; as many a similar windmill has been found convenient to be tilted at by Parliamentary novices in search of themes for their maiden efforts.

Hyde's success in business methods was not always so palatable to his present allies. Money was required to get rid of the Scottish army, which remained on English soil,

[1] Cromwell's more devout admirers naturally find the story apocryphal, which they would do the more heartily, were it not that they find in it an edifying specimen of heroic zeal, heedless of the decorous routine of judicial procedure to which Hyde was a slave. It may be permissible to think that heroism may be better evinced than by the methods of the blustering bully. There is nothing in Cromwell's recorded acts which warrants us in pronouncing the story to be untrue.

and was running up a heavy score against the English exchequer. But the most edifying protests were made against the possibility of procuring any advance from the city until "delinquents were brought to justice"—the usual and most convenient way then adopted of describing those who did not accept the views of the more advanced advocates of Parliamentary prerogative, and who did not profess sympathy with the religious views of the Puritans. Hyde, however, urged "that he did not believe the thing to be so difficult as was pretended; that no man lent his money who did not gain by it; and that it was evident there was plenty of money;" and he was confident that a committee, empowered to pledge the credit of the House, would soon raise it. The committee was appointed; and found, as Hyde predicted, that it was very easy to get the money. The city merchants professed themselves as only too ready to lend if they were secured against the incubus of an invading army, supported at the nation's own expense. "The report was received with great applause by the major part of the House, as was reasonably collected by their countenance; but it was as apparent that the governing party was exceedingly perplexed with it, and knew not suddenly what to say to it."[1] In fact, they did not want Hyde to get the credit; and, still more decidedly, they did not want to get rid of the Scots, who were the best supporters of the policy of stubborn resistance to the Crown. So the debate was adjourned. Next day, their good ally, Alderman Pennington, afterwards the Puritan Lord Mayor, threw doubts upon the report,[2] and a suggestion so inopportunely practical was tactfully laid on the shelf.

[1] *Rebellion*, iii. 92.

[2] Pennington was not above the foible of which his fellow-aldermen of all generations have been by common habit suspected—that of using long words with no particular meaning. After speaking of the conference, "In the end," he said, "there was *colloquintida*." The House made merry with the good alderman's Latin, and the debate evaporated in the laughter.

A much more serious topic was dealt with by another committee in which Hyde was associated with Whitelocke, Pym, and St. John, as well as with Falkland. This committee dealt with the illegality of ship-money, and after a debate which St. John opened, and in which all of those named vied with each in the vigour and swelling rhetoric of their speeches, the condemnatory motion of St. John was adopted by the House. A month later, on January 14th, that motion was "transferred" to the House of Lords, and a resolution was passed

"That thanks be rendered from this House to Mr. St. John and Mr. Whitelocke, the Lord Falkland,[1] and Mr. Hyde, for the great service they have performed, to the honour of this House and good of the Commonwealth, in transferring the business of the ship-money."

The Lords concurred in St. John's motion. So far there was no sign of Hyde's faltering in his energy, nor any outward suspicion of the whole-heartedness of his reforming zeal.

In January, also, there was an addition to the advisers of the Crown, which might have portended some possibility of co-operation. In Finch's place, Littleton became Lord Keeper; Sir Edward Herbert was advanced to the Attorney-Generalship; and, strangely enough, Oliver St. John[2] was

[1] Lord Falkland, the Lucius Carey of Hyde's early friendship, had now succeeded to his father's Scottish peerage, and was, at the same time, member of the English House of Commons.

[2] Oliver St. John was born in 1598, and died in 1673. He was connected with the family of St. John of Bletsoe, to which the more famous St. John Lord Bolingbroke also belonged. In earlier years he had more than once come into collision with the Court, and had been arraigned before the Star Chamber. But the chief reason for his ardent support of the extreme faction was the fact that he had married a cousin of Cromwell, and was on the most intimate terms with him. He was named Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1648; but although he was then a keen supporter of the Parliamentarian Party, he refused concurrence in the trial and execution of the King. In later years he opposed Cromwell's policy, and, by partial co-operation with Monk, he secured exemption from punishment at the Restoration. He died abroad.

nominated Solicitor-General. Littleton was disliked by the popular party for his decision on ship-money, and, on the other hand, his fidelity to the King, although ultimately proved to be real, was at present, it would appear, somewhat suspected. Herbert was a man whose captious temper, and sullen peevishness, brought more harm to the royal cause than his support was worth. But it is hard to explain the grounds either for St. John's selection, or of his acceptance of office. His opposition to the Crown was the result of offence for his prosecution before the Star Chamber; and although he had suffered no penalty, his was a spirit to brood deeply on any personal wrong. He was one of those natures to whom adherence to a political view necessarily involves a rooted belief in the moral culpability of all who dissent from it. Moderation and compromise were to him not merely difficult to attain; had they been easy, he would have held them to be evil in themselves. To aggravate the friction was his avowed aim, because so only could he work vengeance on the powers against which his hatred had been kindled. It was the Earl of Bedford who procured the King's consent to the nomination: but whatever was hoped from it, it did not lessen by one whit St. John's malignity to the Court, but only gave him new opportunities for its indulgence.

In February Hyde was intimately associated with an incident that showed how far the dominant party was ready to go in flagrant disregard for the decencies of political warfare. Berkeley was one of the judges who had committed the unpardonable sin of holding that the levying of ship-money was justified by law. Hyde reported the finding of the committee against him, and Sir John Colepepper was appointed to impeach him before the House of Lords.

"Which being done, and it being now Term time, the Judge Berkeley sitting upon the King's Bench in Westminster Hall, the Lords sent Mr. Maxwell, the Usher of the Black Rod, to fetch him off the Bench, which he performed in the face of the Court, Westminster Hall being then full of people, and brought him away prisoner; which was no small amazement to the people and others of his profession." [1]

No doubt the saunterers of Westminster Hall had food for gossip, and were duly impressed by the majesty of Parliament. But it must be remembered that a couple of police-constables could at any time remove a Lord Chief Justice from his seat on the Bench. Such a proceeding savours as much of burlesque as of serious drama, and the judge does not play the least dignified part in this comic rowdyism. We need not suppose that the fact of Hyde's presenting the report proves that he concurred in the subsequent melodrama.

But in April Hyde was engaged in more serious work. He then represented the House of Commons, in a conference with the Lords on the Court of York and the Court of Wales and the Marches.[2] In this instance Hyde could speak with full conviction, and the professional zeal of a common lawyer was enlisted against these grave interferences with the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts. Whether his speech does

[1] Rushworth, iv. 188.

[2] Lister takes a curious delight in convicting Hyde of some little inaccuracy in the account which he gave long after, aided only by a wonderfully retentive memory, of the Parliamentary proceedings; and the fashion is followed with equal zest by Professor Gardiner. But most readers will find Hyde's account infinitely more clear than those which have been pieced together out of fragments from records of very varying authority. In the present instance, we find that Hyde was more accurate in his account of the sequence of events than his critics. Lister gives the speech on the Court of York, which was delivered in April, after Hyde's speech on the judges, delivered in July. Later than either he places Hyde's intervention in the Root and Branch Bill, which took place in May and June. To say the least of it, this is confusing to the reader. Hyde is perfectly correct in the order he gives to the occurrences.

not contain a considerable amount of exaggeration may be open to doubt. That there had been instances of high-handed action is unquestionable; but after all, the amount of tyranny, really worthy of the serious name, which could be executed by a court which certainly had the advantage of promptitude and local knowledge, and the whole expenses of which did not exceed £1300 a year, could hardly be very great. It stirred the jealousy of a few men, angry at Strafford's ascendency; but the great mass of Englishmen, north of the Humber, probably had but slight knowledge of its existence. At all events, it did not leave Yorkshire the portion of the kingdom least attached to the cause of the Crown. But Hyde placed the grievance high, and demanded its instant cessation.

"Truly, my Lords," he concluded, "these vexed worn-out people of the north are not suitors to your Lordships to regulate this court, or to reform the judges of it, but for extirpating these judges, and the utter abolishing of the court. . . . They desire not to be beholden to this court hereafter for justice, the very administration of justice itself, founded upon such illegal principles, being a grievance and oppression to the subject."

Hyde's reminiscence of the speech, after an interval of years, is hardly so stern in its denunciation. He represents himself then as admitting that the court had been continued, after the days of Henry VIII., when it was founded in order to stamp out rebellion, because "it was found that this commission did much good." Perhaps Hyde had been tempted to exaggerate his language out of deference to the reforming zeal of his present allies. Later experience had shown him that there were more serious evils than a rough and ready administration of justice, even although it did not run strictly according to all the rules of Westminster.

As it was, his speech "had a wonderful approbation in

both Houses." It was reported *verbatim* for the *Lords' Journal*, and it was proposed "that Mr. Hyde should have public thanks for the service he had done the House." But the leaders of the opposition may have had their suspicions that Hyde's zeal was to some extent simulated, and may have noted signs on his part of independent action. They dissuaded the House from such a compliment by saying "that he had too much credit already, and needed not such an addition as he behaved himself." A critical attitude and a spirit of moderation were no passports to the confidence of Pym and Hampden and St. John.

If Hyde felt uneasy, that feeling had extended to others also. The trial of Strafford was proceeding with all that inveterate vindictiveness which nothing but a sense of past fear combined with present triumph could inspire. Racked by sickness, vexed by the failure of his schemes, convinced, against his will, that he had reckoned upon a sense of resolution in the King which was entirely wanting, Strafford never showed the loftiness of his genius more conspicuously than under that terrible ordeal. Able as were his foes, he dwarfed them by comparison. It was but a small part of the triumph that he baffled them in argument, and convinced them to their own chagrin that it was impossible, with any show of legality, to convict him of constructive treason. The alternative method of a Bill of Attainder was now proposed—a method which would avoid all the cumbrous delays of legal procedure, and would cut the Gordian knot by dispensing with evidence altogether.[1] It was true that by such a method the Parliament would make a precedent for a tyranny beside which ship-money

[1] In his subsequent speech in reporting the Bill to the House of Lords, St. John said "That in that way of Bill, private satisfaction to each man's conscience was sufficient, although no evidence had been given in at all" (Clarendon's *History of Rebellion*, iii. 140). It is curious to remember that these words of odious cant were uttered by His Majesty's Solicitor-General.

and High Commission Court and Star Chamber were merely passing nightmares. But with a political party elated by a sudden transfer from nervous fear to dominance, scruples vanish in the white heat of exalted enthusiasm.

As a persuasive to pressing on the process of the Bill of Attainder, a revival of old fears was added to the sense of triumph over their foe. A plot to instigate the army to renew hostilities with the Scots in the interest of the King had been started by Jermyn and Suckling, hangers-on at the Court of the Queen, and had made some progress amongst the officers. Goring,[1] the son of Lord Goring, managed to become a confidant of the plotters, who found no encouragement from the King; and when the scheme seemed hopeless, Goring found that opportunity of betraying his associates which was in accordance with his known character. The disclosure served the purpose of the "Inflexibles" by enabling them to stir once more the dread of a military ascendency, which might revive the influence of the Court.

The Attainder Bill was pressed through the House of Commons. During its passage Hyde gave no sign that he dissented from it; and we cannot claim for him the honour of being one of those who were stigmatized and marked for public odium by having their names published as "Straffordians." At the most he may have abstained from a vote. But it is unquestionable that, however he may, at the time, have sympathized with those who were persuaded that security to the Constitution could only come by the death of Strafford, whether by fair means or by foul, Hyde was already ill at ease amongst his associates, and soon came to recognize the injustice of the procedure. Nor did he fail to see, in its proper measure, the baseness by which the two

[1] It is the first time we meet with this notorious scoundrel, whose occasional aid was even more hurtful to the King than his repeated treachery. See note, *post*, p. 168.

Sir Henry Vanes,[1] father and son, lent themselves to the concoction of a piece of evidence as worthless in substance as it was ignoble in origin. Vane, the father, had not scrupled, in the teeth of the evidence of his fellow-councillors, to ascribe to Strafford the use of words in Council which would have seemed to suggest to the King that the frame of government might be altered by military force. He had no documentary evidence, and his word was not corroborated. But while the Bill of Attainder was being discussed, Vane the younger, with a fine show of hypocritical repentance, threw himself on the mercy of the House; declared how he had been entrusted with his keys by his father to search his boxes for a document required in some family business; how he had used those keys to satisfy his curiosity by opening other boxes and examining other papers; how he found a "copy" of a paper which supported his father's uncorroborated evidence. The father then played his part in the ignoble comedy; told how he had made notes of the words at the time; how he had, according to order, destroyed them; how he had preserved a copy; and how that copy had been found by his son, who now, in the tenderness of his conscience, was unable to conceal the discovery, which was to help in the destruction of Strafford, the object of their envenomed hatred. A tawdry conspiracy of falsehood could hardly have been more clumsily advised. It was quite satisfactory to "the Inflexibles."[2]

[1] The younger Vane was born in 1613. After a boisterous youth, he became an ardent puritan, and banished himself for a time to New England, where he became Governor of Massachusetts, and involved the young colony in bitter disputes. Returning home, he obtained a lucrative appointment as Treasurer of the Navy, and afterwards was a member both of the Short and of the Long Parliaments. From the first he acted closely with the "Inflexibles."

[2] Professor Gardiner carries a show of impartiality to a strange length in connection with this incident. "It is unnecessary," he says, "to go into the question whether the younger Vane was justified in betraying the secret. It was a case of a conflict of duties" (Note on p. 328 of vol. ix.). We might acquiesce in this, but in another than Professor Gardiner's sense.

But the Bill of Attainder had still to pass the House of Lords. It was recommended by St. John in a speech which could hardly be paralleled except in the bloodthirsty virulence of the French revolution. Statute law and precedent were to be disregarded, as well as evidence.

"We give law to hares and deer, because they be beasts of chase; it was never accounted either cruelty or foul play to knock foxes and wolves on the head as they can be found, because they be beasts of prey. The warrener sets traps for polecats and other vermin for the preservation of the warren." [1]

When things were in this critical position, Hyde had a conversation which he records to us fully, and which marks, and doubtless hastened, the uneasy feeling of dissatisfaction with the action of "the Inflexibles" of which the seeds had already been planted in Hyde's mind. We must not suppose that the uneasiness rested solely upon difference of political principle. Principle may count for much, but in human affairs, tastes and instincts count for more. The methods of these associates; the envenomed cruelty of St. John;

Whether it is justifiable to open private receptacles and examine private papers; whether such action is any the better because keys have been entrusted to us for other purposes, and because the trust has been imposed in us by a father; whether it is consistent with the dimmest ray of rectitude to conceal the possession of these papers so long as it suits us, and to make their discovery coincide with the declared invalidity of evidence which we wish to bolster up—that is a question which all men of honour may agree it is scarcely necessary to discuss. It may be held equally unnecessary to discuss whether the concocted display of hypocrisy between father and son merits any weight whatever as a piece of evidence, or whether their malignant scheme of gratifying their feelings of personal revenge is compatible with the common feelings of humanity. The plot was not made more dignified from the fact that for a time the father and son exhibited outward signs of estrangement from one another. That estrangement was transitory, although it revived in later years. The elder Vane died, says Hyde, "in universal reproach, and not contemned more by any of his enemies than by his own son."

[1] Professor Gardiner's "impartial" comment upon this is "Strafford's maxims were thus turned against himself" (vol. ix. p. 345). If this is impartiality, we would prefer the full-blooded rancour of the partisan. The detestable cruelty of the words of this English St. Just can derive no excuse from an imputation against Strafford which is based on no evidence.

the studied hypocrisy of the Vanes; the tempestuous bluster of Cromwell—all these jarred on Hyde's feelings, which he admits to us again and again were ardent and impetuous. Difference in innate feeling and temperament breaks up more political associations than difference in constitutional creed.

It was in the end of April that Hyde was accosted in a place of public resort [1] by the Earl of Bedford,[2] who told him that there was a friend of his (the Earl of Essex) who needed his counsel. Bedford fully recognized the evils of the courses now pursued by the extreme party. He said "that the business concerning the Earl of Strafford was a rock upon which we should all split." The King was anxious to save his life, upon condition that he should be no more employed; nay, if Parliament took his death upon them by an Act of their own judicature, he would not intervene; but his conscience was pained at the thought of being a party to the Act of Attainder, and of that he begged to be relieved. That the King's conscience, his honour, his sense of manliness and self-respect were all alike pledged to Strafford admits of no doubt; and human nature somehow sickens at a "conscience" that is always proclaiming its own difficulties, and seeking relief from pledges that become troublesome. Between that suspense, and unconditional surrender, there is little space. At all events, such delicately poised cases of conscience do not argue the confidence that sways a critical contest.

[1] "A place called Piccadilly (which was a fair house for entertainment and gaming, and handsome gravel walks with shade, whither very many of the nobility and gentry of the best quality resorted, both for exercise and conversation" (*History of Rebellion*, i. 392).

[2] This Earl of Bedford was Francis Russell, born in 1592. He had succeeded to the Earldom in 1627, and was a leader in the popular party, so long as its aims were moderate. His influence might have told powerfully in favour of a compromise, but he died very soon after his interview with Hyde—on May 9—the very day on which the King gave his assent to the Attainder Bill. One of his daughters was wife of Digby.

Bedford was prepared himself to vote for the attainder, but he scrupled about the conscience of the King. He did not despair, if only Lord Essex could be persuaded to acquiesce, of bringing some of his friends to agree to a more moderate course, which would exclude Strafford from power, but save him from death. He had himself, he said, spoken with Essex, but "found him so obstinate that he could not in the least degree prevail with him." Could not Hyde talk to Lord Essex[1] and see whether he could persuade him to compliance? Hyde agreed, and soon met the Earl of Essex in company with the Earl, just created Marquis, of Hertford.[2] The meeting was evidently concerted with Hertford, because he took his departure and left Hyde and Essex alone. Essex's first words to him must have been disconcerting to Hyde. He "began merrily," by telling Hyde that he had that morning (in his denunciation of the Court of the North) done a service which he knew he did not intend to do; he had revived the indignation against Strafford, and they would now proceed with vigour to prosecute the Attainder Bill. This clearly shows that Hyde was understood to be disinclined to pushing matters too far against the falling minister. Hyde disclaimed any such

[1] Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, was the son of Elizabeth's brilliant courtier, whose trial and condemnation clouded her last years, and together form one of the many mysteries that baffle us as to her character and feelings. The present Earl was now fifty years of age, and had already had a chequered career, having been divorced under strange circumstances from his first wife, who became the wife of Carr, the notorious Earl of Somerset. He had few ties to the Court, and was now one of the most powerful leaders of the reforming party. He became, for a time, their most trusted general, and died in 1646.

[2] William Seymour, Marquis of Hertford, was born in 1588. In early life his ill-fated marriage with Arabella Stuart involved him in trouble with the Court. After her death he married Frances Devereux, sister of the Earl of Essex, and is therefore referred to, in Hyde's narrative, as Essex's "brother." His former estrangement from the Court did not prevent him from being most loyal in his support of the King, amongst whose most chivalrous adherents we shall find him in later years. After the Restoration the Dukedom of Somerset was revived in his favour, as he belonged to the family of the great Duke who was Protector in the days of Edward VI.

intention; and while he agreed that "there were crimes and misdemeanours evidently enough proved," he pressed for some milder remedy than death. Essex shook his head and answered, "Stone-dead hath no fellow." If Strafford lived, the King would soon relieve him of all penalties. He said that he would talk no longer then, but would confer with Hyde again. At their next conference he was guarded in his talk; and to the objection against forcing the conscience of the King, he urged that the King's conscience must be conformed to the conscience of the Parliament. That was the sophistry to which the party had learned to adhere.

But the course of the Bill through the Upper House was not smooth. Digby,[1] whose grace and dignity gained him the hearts of all, whose eloquence gave him commanding influence, and whose power in the country was injured only by that perverse ingenuity and those erratic ventures which were a perplexity at once to his allies and his opponents, had in the Commons made a sturdy resistance to the inherent injustice of the Bill, and prophesied its failure to secure the assent of the Lords and the King. He condemned *ex post facto* legislation.

"Let the mark be set on the door where the plague is, and then let him that will enter die. . . . We must not piece up want of legality with matter of convenience, nor the defaillance of prudential fitness with a pretence of legal justice."[2]

In the Lords, Digby's father, Lord Bristol, acted upon the same principles as his son, and was the object for the insults of an angry and excited mob, who shouted as he passed

[1] George Digby, son of the Earl of Bristol, was born in 1612, and was summoned to the House of Lords during his father's lifetime by his second title of Lord Digby.

[2] Rushworth, viii. 53.

that they would have justice upon him and his "false son." His influence weakened the majority, but did not prevent a decision adverse to Strafford. Forty-five peers only attended the debate on the third reading of the Bill on May 8th, and of these 26 voted in its favour and 19 against it.

Hyde recognized the greatness of Strafford; but he failed to recognize the full scope of Strafford's aims, and passes no condemnation on the fate which overtook him. Strafford, indeed, played for high stakes, and the political ideal for which he strove was one hidden from the comprehension of his contemporaries, and was only faintly shadowed in later theories of a patriot King. His leading aim was to get rid of practical abuses, and sources of weakness in the commonwealth, by the speediest and most direct methods. It was no part of his intention to subvert the constitution; but rightly or wrongly he believed that, amidst all the contrivances for adjusting the different parts of it, there must be an ultimate sovereign power, and that the sovereign power, in the last emergency, rested with the Crown, and might be exercised in the best interests of the nation. It was a theory in unison with the philosophy of Hobbes, and linked with the dreams of Bolingbroke a century later. But it was as much alien to Hyde's theories of constitutional monarchy, jealously guarding the strictly legal prerogatives of the Crown, as it was to the notions of the uncontrolled supremacy of Parliament, which had impressed themselves upon the extreme Parliamentarians. Strafford fell; but in the dignity of his isolation he was supreme.

It remained to the King to vindicate his honour by interposing his veto on the Bill. To that, at all risks, he was pledged by every consideration that could bind a man of simple straightforwardness. He failed in the greatest crisis

of his life. We may recognize the dignity of Charles's later conduct under misfortune, his personal bravery, the sincerity of his action in defence of what he believed to be the true Church. But we cannot acquit him of failure to the pledges he had given to his greatest servant. Time-serving Bishops, like Williams, might spin sophistries about a public and a private conscience. These do not relieve Charles of his crowning error; and the conscience of Juxon refused to accept any such subterfuge. Hyde makes the best excuse for him that he can; but we have only to read between the lines to see that he felt how much some palliation of the act was necessary.

The vengeance of the "Inflexibles" was not yet sated. They still spoke of "the evil counsellors about the King, who obstructed many gracious acts which would otherwise flow from his goodness and bounty to his people."[1] A new object of their jealousy was the Duke of Richmond, who "was the only man of consideration . . . who did not in the least stoop, or make love to them, but crossed them boldly in the House."[2] Hyde joined in their complaints, but with another object. He "did really believe that there yet remained some evil counsellors," and desired that they might be named, and their wrongdoing investigated. His motion pointed at his old enemy, the Marquis of Hamilton; and the case of the marquis was sufficiently hazardous to induce his confederates to avoid anything which would weaken the position of so useful an ally. The vague insinuations were dropped; but there was another score chalked up against Hyde, for his intractability.

Hyde's opposition to the aims of "the Inflexibles" soon became more uncompromising and declared. At the same time that the Royal assent was given to the Bill of Attainder, it was also given to the Bill which prevented the Parliament

[1] *Rebellion*, iii. 236 [2] *Ibid.*, iii. 237.

from being dissolved except with its own consent. The balance of arbitrary power was thus completely shifted. The mask was now cast aside, and an avowed tyranny of a temporary majority, which enforced its view by terror, was substituted for the alleged excess of the prerogative of the Crown. Under the pretence of temporary exigency, the balance of the constitution was thrown out of gear, and absolute power was grasped by a parliamentary majority, guided by a few leading men.

In May and June, the House was occupied with the discussions on the Root and Branch Bill, which was intended to extirpate episcopacy. It had been preceded in February by a Bill for excluding the Bishops from the House of Lords, in regard to which those sworn friends, Hyde and Falkland, had found themselves, for the first time, sharply divided in opinion. Hyde had opposed it; Falkland had supported it, as a concession which might save the Church; and the variance between these firm friends had given much satisfaction to their common foes.[1] But the Root and Branch Bill, which was to sweep away the whole religious traditions of the country, found these two united in firm opposition. The strength of that opposition was fully understood, and it was hoped to discount it by putting Hyde in the chair of the Committee of the whole House on the Bill, and so depriving him of a vote. They reckoned without taking account of the power of the chairman to obstruct the business. Hyde proved himself to be an adept in the art, and he is

[1] Mr. Lister, strangely enough, argues that Hyde must have voted for the Bill of Attainder because Falkland did so, and because Hyde declares that the difference on the question of the Bishops was their first variance. But the Bishops' Bill was the result of a committee appointed in February, and the Attainder Bill was not passed till late in April, long before which any difference in regard to the Bishops' seats must have emerged. Chronological inaccuracy, it appears, is not confined to Hyde's defective memory. The whole occurrence of Falkland's and Hyde's dissidence is related in a later passage of Lister's book. So he is not even consistent with himself, much less with historical truth,

honest enough to make no secret of his intentional obstruction.

But he still remained for certain purposes a useful ally even to the "Inflexibles." His grasp of constitutional principle made him the most effective exponent of the evils of the judges' decision upon ship-money, and late in May he was commissioned to carry up to the House of Lords the charges against the Barons of Exchequer. He did so in a powerful speech on July 6th. The fervency of its language may perhaps be due to a natural wish on Hyde's part to vindicate the suspected sincerity of his crusade against grievances.

"There cannot," he began, "be a greater instance of a sick and languishing commonwealth than the business of this day. Good God! how have the guilty these late years been punished, when the judges themselves have been such delinquents. 'Tis no marvel, that an irregular, extravagant, arbitrary power, like a torrent, hath broken in upon us, when our banks and our bulwarks, the laws, were in the custody of such persons. Men who had lost their innocence could not preserve their courage; nor could we look that they who had so visibly undone us, themselves should have the virtue or credit to rescue us from the oppression of other men. It was said by one who always spoke excellently, that the twelve judges were like the twelve lions under the throne of Solomon—under the throne—in obedience—but yet lions. Your Lordships shall this day hear of six, who (be they what they will be else) were no lions: who upon vulgar fears delivered up the precious forts they were trusted with, almost without assault; and in a tame and easy trance of flattery and servitude, lost and forfeited (shamefully forfeited) that reputation, awe and reverence which the wisdom, courage and gravity of their venerable predecessors had contracted and fastened to the places they now hold . . . It is in your Lordships' power (and I am sure it is in your Lordships' will) to restore the dejected broken people of this island to their former joy and security:

the successors of these men to their own privileges and veneration, *et sepultas prope leges revocare.*"

There is a good deal of rhodomontade in this speech, as in others which Hyde delivered about the same time. The people of the island were not altogether broken or dejected; and when he looked back calmly in retrospect, the speaker saw how little the description answered to the truth. But it reflects faithfully the rather swollen rhetoric which was in the taste of the day, and conforms very carefully in its elaborate metaphors and its wealth of biblical allusion to the prevailing literary fashion. Hyde knew perfectly well that counsels of prudence were not likely to approve themselves if they were couched in language of studied moderation —least of all in the case of those who, like himself, were suspected of lukewarmness. On the same day Edmund Waller delivered a speech in impeachment of Mr. Justice Crawley, which was even more elaborate in its metaphors, and more copious in its classical allusions, and which was as full of fiery indignation against the peccant judges. But Waller was not by nature prone to any very enthusiastic adherence to a political creed; and hints about moderation may be detected amidst his glowing periods, just as much as in Hyde's. Hyde had—what Waller had not—the lawyer's instinctive dread of what appeared to be infringements of the law. But Hyde showed at a later day that he could make really passionate indignation and ardent pleading breathe through every line of a state document; and his own efforts in that kind during a real crisis of intense conflict afford the best contrast to the somewhat stilted declamation of his speeches at these conferences, when he had to denounce these poor judges—who, after all, had perhaps acted according to their lights, and had followed the lead of Hyde's own uncle, the Lord Chief Justice. It must not

be forgotten that Hyde, as spokesman, was bound to express the feelings of those whom he represented; and an orator of thirty-two years of age may be forgiven for some rotundity of epithet.

But none the less, these utterances emphasize the position of Hyde as regards the main points in the great controversy of the day. Hyde from his heart disliked the schemes of Strafford, and upon carefully considered grounds he sincerely dreaded the dangers which they courted. He had never had any personal intercourse with Strafford, and had never come within the sway of his personal influence. To Laud, on the other hand, he felt not only the gratitude of a young man for early notice and kindly favour, but he regarded his character as entirely unselfish, he knew him to be actuated by the sincerest motives, and to the end of his life he retained a powerful impression of Laud's saintly personality. But it was far more than a merely personal feeling which guided Hyde's judgment of the two men. He looked upon Strafford's policy as equally hurtful to the Crown and to the people. To Laud's ideal of Church government, Hyde continued throughout to feel a profound attachment; and he found in it nothing that was inconsistent with the real interests at once of Crown and people, and made it his aim, when in power, to carry it out. He saw in it no real restriction upon liberty, but only a means of encouraging order and decorum in the Church. Instances which looked like excessive stringency in enforcing uniformity he was inclined to ascribe rather to the ill-ordered procedure of courts unknown to the fundamental laws of England. While, as a staunch royalist, he felt the Crown to be the appointed representative of the people, and the foundation upon which the framework of the constitution rested, he thought the straining of administrative authority under Strafford to be an error of judgment fraught with danger to the Crown

itself, and his instincts as a lawyer made him realize that it hazarded the power of the Crown upon accidental circumstances, rather than based it upon fundamental principles embodied in the law. He recognized Strafford's consummate ability. "He was a man of great parts, and extraordinary endowments of nature," is his summary; but he felt the weakness of his position. "It was his misfortune to be of a time wherein very few wise men were equally employed with him;" and for the attainment of Strafford's ideal, a combination of great minds and of fortunate circumstances was absolutely necessary. He wrongly ascribed to Strafford "elation and arrogance"; a "disdain of other men"; a contempt "of the forms of business." In balancing the charges against him, Hyde seems to ascribe as much importance to Strafford's drastic and contemptuous dealing with a selfish and dishonest underling like Mountnorris [1]—whom Strafford doubtless regarded as the worthless product of political intrigue and ignoble self-seeking—and to his somewhat rough and ready methods with Ely,[2]

[1] Francis Annesley was born in 1585, of English descent, but very early went to Ireland, and became a conspicuous specimen of the English office-hunter, who battened on the plunder of the Irish. He accumulated a vast number of offices, and enriched himself at every fresh distribution of land in Ireland. He was the bane of Lord Falkland (Lucius Carey's father) when he was Lord Deputy of Ireland, and his turbulent arrogance and greed eventually drove Falkland from office. When Wentworth came over, in 1633, Annesley (who had become Lord Mountnorris in 1628) found that he had met a sterner master. Wentworth was determined to stop the shameful plunder of Ireland, and to brush aside those who stood in the way of his just but firm rule. This vain and insolent peculator was tried by court martial for breach of discipline, and condemned to death. The sentence was only formal, and he was allowed to go to England, but deprived of office. By assiduous courting of the Parliamentary party at a later day, he again managed to procure the means of plundering the Irish, and was aided by Henry Cromwell in his effort to procure the reversion of his office to his son. He died in 1660, as Viscount Valentia.

[2] Adam Loftus belonged to another of those English families who had profited by the rich perquisites of Irish office. His grandfather, Edward Loftus, was a Yorkshire landowner, and his father, Robert Loftus, saw more than one son in high office. Adam Loftus became Lord Chancellor of Ireland in 1619, and was created Viscount Loftus of Ely. He died in England, early in the Civil War.

the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, as to matters of such moment as the wider ideals in which Strafford's mind was absorbed. The difference between the two was the fundamental one between the lawyer, devoted to the principles of constitutional monarchy, and at the same time seeing the Crown as the cardinal point upon which the constitution hinged, and the man of action, less careful about means, so long as he obtained the unquestioned sway for his own arm, which he felt to be needful to steer safely the ship of the State.

But Hyde nevertheless allowed no personal prejudice to blind him to the inherent injustice of the Bill of Attainder, and makes no pleas in its excuse. However much he was divided from Strafford, the separation between himself and the "Inflexibles" was a far deeper one. It was felt as much on one side as on the other. We have already seen indications of the suspicion in which he was held as one who was lukewarm to the cause. He tells us a curious instance of that suspicion. He was walking one day with Lord Rothes in Westminster Hall, when the Earl suddenly asked him "to walk towards the coach, and he would overtake him by the time he came thither." When after some delay they rejoined, the Earl told him

"that he must excuse his having made him stay so long, because he had been detained only concerning him: that when he was walking with him a gentleman passing by touched his cloak, which made him desire the other to go before: and turning to the other person, he said, that seeing him walking in some familiarity with Mr. Hyde, he thought himself obliged to tell him, that he walked with the greatest enemy the Scottish nation had in Parliament, and that he ought to take heed how he communicated anything of importance to him."[1]

[1] *Rebellion*, iii. 41.

If the Scots disliked Hyde, the feeling was certainly amply reciprocated.

But Hyde soon discovered much that intensified the alienation on his own side. While he was acting as Chairman in the Committee of the House on the Root and Branch Bill, he was in friendly communication with the advocates of the Bill, widely as their views differed, and was frequently asked by them to dine with them at Pym's lodging, close to Westminster Hall. Hampden, Hazlerigg, Nathaniel Fiennes, and others, met there daily to inspire new enthusiasm into the laggards. On one occasion Fiennes asked Hyde to join him in a ride into the fields to Chelsea, and in the course of their ride Fiennes asked him "what it was that inclined him so passionately" to the tottering fabric of the Church. Hyde professed the dictates of his conscience, and asked what they would place in the room of episcopacy. "Time enough to think of that," said Fiennes; but "if the King resolved to defend the bishops, it would cost the kingdom much blood, and would be the occasion of as sharp a war as had ever been in England." Hyde then learned how far they were prepared to go in defence of a view which was radically opposite to his own most cherished feelings, and, as he thought, to the general opinion of the kingdom.[1]

He soon learned more. He was intimate with Henry Marten,[2] and in the unrestraint of that intimacy Marten

[1] *Life*, i. 90.

[2] Henry Marten or Martyn, the regicide, was son of Sir Henry Marten, who died in the year 1641, after having won considerable repute as a civilian, and having amassed, by dexterous management and untiring industry, a large fortune which his son managed to dissipate in that riotous living which was only one of the features of his life that made it notorious in no very seemly way. Cautious as the father had been, and anxious as he proved himself to be, to conciliate the reforming party, he had nevertheless incurred the suspicion of the "Inflexibles" about the time of his death. The son incurred no such suspicion, and had already become notable for the extravagance of his views, and for the violence with which he pressed them—so violent, indeed, in his attacks on the King, as to incur the rebuke of a House which found it more politic to preserve a semblance of respect, however hollow. His first anti-monarchical impulse is said to have been inspired by

allowed him to see the truth as to the aims of his associates. As they walked together, one day in the summer, in the churchyard at Westminster, Marten told him "he would undo himself by adhering to the Court." Hyde told Marten that he had no relation to the Court, but was puzzled to know how Marten found himself able to act with men whose views Hyde knew had not his approval, and put to him the direct question, "What he thought of such and such men." Marten "frankly answered that he thought them knaves." "What was it," asked Hyde, "that he desired?" Marten paused, and then said, "I do not think one man wise enough to rule us all."[1] It agrees with all we know of

an occasion when the King had ordered his expulsion from a gathering at Hyde Park, as a "whoremaster" and a profligate. Marten lived to be rated in the same terms by Cromwell.

From the first he acted with the extreme party in the Long Parliament; and his avowed contempt at once for the decencies of life and for the solemn cant of his confederates often sorely scandalized them. As matters went further, he became the close confidant of Cromwell, who employed him for his own ends, and roughly shook him off when he proved refractory; but down to the death of the King (when Marten was one of his judges), Cromwell and he were on cordial terms, and the story is told, how Marten's coarse horseplay infected Cromwell, when they flecked one another with the ink from the pens with which they had signed the Death Warrant. Perpetually involved in personal disputes, at all times acting the insolent and abusive bully, Marten suffered the indignities usual to such a character, and on one occasion was publicly caned by the Earl of Northumberland. He was the swashbuckler of the war, and the buffoon of Parliament; but his buffoonery was helped by a ready wit, and his bluntness of plain-speaking gained him some popularity. On one occasion a motion—directed, amongst others, against Marten, who habitually slept during debates—was made "to put out such scandalous members as slept." Marten capped the motion neatly. "Mr. Speaker, a motion has been made to turn out the nodders: I move to turn out the noddees" (*Aubrey*). But his flagrant debauchery in the end made him obnoxious to the Puritans of Parliament, and he incurred the contemptuous anger of Cromwell, as an adherent of the Levellers. At the Restoration he managed to escape the death penalty, saved largely by the plea made on his behalf by Lord Falkland. "It was an old law," said Falkland, "that sacrifices were to be without spot or blemish. Now you are going to make an old rotten rascal a sacrifice." He died in prison in 1680. "An indomitable little Roman pagan, if no better," says Carlyle. Hardly, perhaps, the most heroic type of Roman paganism.

[1] Professor Gardiner's comment on this is curious. "Hyde was shocked," he says, "by such words. He did not see that the only way in which Charles could answer them was by being wise enough to govern." There is no sign that Hyde was "shocked." He emphatically disagreed. He did not indulge in the epigrammatic reflection suggested by Professor

Marten that he should be ready, in what might then seem almost a paradox, to subscribe to what, in Hyde's opinion, amounted to republicanism. There is no evidence that such a scheme had as yet shaped itself in the minds of any considerable party in the House. But that persistent attacks upon the powers of the Crown, however much cloaked in language that bore the formal mark of respect for its majesty, should accustom men to such doctrines, was only an inevitable consequence. The frankness of common-sense manages to penetrate through the veil of Parliamentary phrasing. But its blunt assertion was new to Hyde, and showed him to what further alliance with the "Inflexibles" would soon conduct him.

One thing more confirmed Hyde in his determination to detach himself from their cause. After the "conference with the Lords," [1] as he was leaving the House, Henry Percy, the brother of the Earl of Northumberland,[2]

Gardiner, because even in Hyde's day it would have been thought a fallacy hardly to be tolerated in the nursery or the school. Surely our constitution rests upon some foundation a little more safe than the improbable one that all its agents, at any given moment, are "wise enough" to discharge their functions perfectly. Is the power of the House of Commons only to endure while its members are all "wise enough"?

[1] Probably that of July 6, at which Hyde's speech against the Barons of the Exchequer was delivered.

[2] Henry Percy, although the brother of the Earl of Northumberland, did not share the Earl's political sympathies. But he managed to incur suspicion from both sides in the struggle. He was a strong adherent of the Queen, and shaped his course largely under her direction. Hyde was on far from cordial terms with him during the Commonwealth, but their relations became better before the end. He died in 1659.

Professor Gardiner points out that Hyde is in error in naming Percy as his introducer to the King, as Percy had fled, owing to his implication in the Army Plot, in May, before the Root and Branch Bill was discussed. The error is not in any case a very serious one; but it would appear more likely that Hyde errs in regard to the date rather than the person. The King's remarks as to the passion against the Church might have had plenty of basis other than the Root and Branch Bill; and Hyde's memory is not likely to have played him false as to the person who arranged a meeting so momentous in its consequences upon his own future. Nor is it certain when Percy actually left the kingdom. He concealed himself for some time after his disappearance, and delayed his journey upon some occasions of his own, and even found means to return to London (*History of Rebellion*, iii. 223).

accosted him, and told him that the King desired to speak to him that afternoon. Hyde could scarcely believe that the message was intended for him, but was assured that there was no mistake; and the same evening he was introduced into the gallery at Whitehall, and there had an interview with the King alone.

"The King[1] told him 'That he heard from all hands how much he was beholden to him: and that when all his servants in the House of Commons either neglected his service, or could not appear usefully in it, he took all occasions to do him service: for which he thought fit to give him his own thanks, and to assure him that he would remember it to his advantage.' He took notice of his affection to the Church, for which he said 'he thanked him more than all the rest'; which the other acknowledged with the duty that became him, and said 'he was very happy that his Majesty was pleased with what he did: but if he had commanded him to have withdrawn his affection and reverence for the Church he would not have obeyed him;' which his Majesty said made him love him the better."

No one knew better than Hyde how to cover in a phrase of apparent independence, what was really a pledge of deferential loyalty, and courteously to indicate that his service would be manly and not servile. The King discussed the "passion of the House" for the Root and Branch Bill, and asked "if they could carry it?" Hyde trusted to his own tactics of obstruction, and believed that it would at least be a long process. "If they do not carry it before I go to Scotland," said the King, "I will undertake for the Church after that time."

It was a tacit pledge between them. The King received full and regular accounts of the debates. He knew well how small was the help he got from those in the House who

[1] *Life*, i. 93.

held office, even when they did not, like St. John, actually oppose the measures of the Court. Blind as he often showed himself to be to the real position of matters, he must have seen that it was urgently necessary to secure to himself some Parliamentary ally on whom he could rely. His strongest defender had fallen, deserted at the critical moment by the King himself; Laud was silenced and powerless as a prisoner in the Tower; Finch and Windebanke had fled, and the judges who had bent their opinions to his service had been impeached and were awaiting trial. Charles may almost have been convinced of what was self-evident to every one else, that the power of the Crown was no longer the central pivot of the State, to which all else was a passing accident, but that the monarchy could hold a semblance of power only by restoring the balance of the constitution, and throwing the odium of encroachment upon his enemies. He was forced to have recourse to some one who had taken part in many of the measures for the curtailment of the prerogative. From his secretary, Nicholas, who was Hyde's intimate friend, he no doubt learned Hyde's misgivings about the new schemes of his former allies; and at least he knew that Hyde was a pledged and enthusiastic adherent of Laud's ideals in the Church. Whether he was prompted by political sagacity or by despair, Charles could have made no wiser choice.

For Hyde, on the other hand, the proposal brought certainly no prospect of personal advantage. Office under such a King was a perilous hazard, and the formal acceptance of office might not only bring on him jealousy on the part of many of the adherents of the Court of higher rank, but would certainly make him the mark of active enmity, and not mere suspicion, on the part of the "Inflexibles." That Hyde took the pledge of the King from no ignoble motive is certain, because no such motive could exist. But two

appeals the King could make to him: one to that passionate reverence for the Crown's legal rights, which was an instinct with him, and survived many a strain; and the other to his enthusiastic devotion to the Church. These were the two fixed principles of his life. They cemented the bond that from this time forth united him to the Crown, and he brought to that service—at first a service only of aid without official position—an indomitable pertinacity of purpose, an untiring industry, and a courage which never failed in the moments of direst struggle or of blackest outlook. Others changed and varied in their allegiance, sometimes from selfish motives, sometimes from honest doubt and perplexity, and not seldom because a variation of allegiance seemed to be the likeliest way of bringing about a compromise. We need pass no sweeping condemnation on them. But this, at least, is certain, that out of the countless actors in that great drama, there was not one who steered his course more straight, who was more honest in his first choice of adherence, and who maintained more unchangeably the principles which he had set before himself from the outset than Edward Hyde.[1]

[1] For the first time, after Hyde's influence began to be felt, and in steadily increasing measure after that influence became confirmed, a clear vein of policy emerges in the conduct of the Royalist cause. At a later day he never swerved from his conception of the line which should be followed in a Restoration settlement; and it is not the least of his triumphs that, although his personal career was swamped by a combination of the baser elements in the Court of Charles II., his own downfall did not prevent him from leaving an indelible impress upon subsequent history. Professor Gardiner (vol. ix. p. 387) judges the incident of the meeting worthy only of a cursory mention in a couple of lines. Charles and Hyde united, he thinks, because they had much in common. They "both venerated the ceremonies of the Church, and neither had any of the larger qualities of statesmanship." It would hardly be possible to imagine a more complete misconception of Hyde's character, ability, and achievement, or a verdict more lacking in a sense of proportion. Truly, much rancour may be combined with an almost quaker-like profession of what is called historical impartiality.

CHAPTER V

HYDE'S POSITION BECOMES DEFINED

With the execution of Strafford, the "Inflexibles" had won a notable triumph: with the Act which made dissolution dependent upon the will of the House of Commons, they had established a tyranny in their own hands. Nor were they slow to show the real meaning of it. Dire vengeance, with no show of legal procedure, now fell on those who ventured to indicate any dissent either from their tenets or their acts. Mr. Tailor, member for Old Windsor, for saying that in Strafford's case they "had committed murder with the sword of justice," was expelled the House, declared incapable of election, and committed to prison at the pleasure of Parliament. This was only one instance amongst many. Religious persecution was revived, and in July a Roman Catholic priest named Ward was put to death with every circumstance of cruelty, solely on account of his creed. On July 29th they drew up a Protestation, which pledged all who took it to bind themselves to assist the aims of the advanced party and to fight against all who would oppose them. They proceeded to enforce their Protestation upon all and sundry. The most powerful of all motives, that of craven fear, was still to be cherished in the hearts of their adherents, and for this purpose they sedulously kept alive the rumours of a plot of the army, which was to be employed to crush the liberties of Parliament. All through the spring and summer this talk of an army plot had filled men's mouths. It had

a solid foundation, but was cunningly exaggerated and misrepresented in order that the prevailing fear might have no time to slacken.

A not unnatural jealousy of Parliamentary action had spread itself amongst the army. They had been used as instruments by the Parliamentary leaders; but they now found themselves the object of almost contemptuous disregard. Their pay was in arrear; and while lavish promises and lavish payments were made to the Scots, the English soldiery found themselves ill-supplied and neglected. They were dissatisfied with the course of affairs, and had no mind to be used as the submissive tools of an arrogant Parliamentary clique. A gratuity of three hundred thousand pounds, in addition to the pay of twenty-five thousand a month, was voted to the Scots; and this specially roused the anger of Hyde.

"Without doubt," he writes, "when posterity shall recover the courage, and conscience, and the old honour of the English nation it will not with more indignation and blushes contemplate any action of this seditious and rebellious age, than that the nobility and gentry of England, who were not guilty of the treason, should recompense an invasion from a foreign contemned nation, with whatever establishments they proposed in their own kingdom, and with a donation of three hundred thousand pounds over and above all charges, out of the bowels of England."

It was hardly surprising that the English army should feel uneasy and dissatisfied; and their feelings were fairly and not immodestly urged in a petition to the King, in which they lamented the violence threatening his person and his Court, and "the subversion of the whole frame of government" to suit the private fancies of a few. They professed that it was far from their thoughts "to believe, that the violence and unreasonableness of such kind of

persons can have any influence upon the prudence and justice of the Parliament."

Their wish was only that " your Majesty and the Parliament may be secured from such insolences hereafter. For the suppressing of which in all humility we offer ourselves to wait upon you (if you please) hoping we shall appear as considerable in the way of defence, to our gracious Sovereign, the Parliament, our religion, and the established laws of the kingdom, as what number soever shall audaciously presume to violate them."

None but a stickler for the petty points of legal construction could object to such a loyal proffer of help or could find in these words any proposal of the army to assume to itself the authority of the State ; and even such a stickler cannot but recognize that Parliament itself had annulled the moral force which any pedantic legal arguments could possess. The army was not a professional one : it consisted of citizens, summoned in a pressing emergency to perform their duty to their King, and not thereby forfeiting any of their rights. As such, the petition was rightly interpreted by the King to be a plea for some settlement of the quarrel upon the basis of a fair compromise, and a pledge that they would loyally support any such compromise which might rid the country of a crushing tyranny, and restore the vigour of the law.

So far went the scheme which was presented by Chudleigh, an emissary from the army, favourably received by Digby and Henry Percy, and confirmed by the King. But another plot, less scrupulous, and more daring, according to which the army was to coerce the civil power, renew active hostilities with the Scots, and virtually begin a civil war, was promoted by others at the same time. It was concocted by Suckling, who could turn a graceful lyric, could play the part of a sprightly man of fashion and gay

courtier, but who carried into political plotting the light-hearted inconsequence of his intrigues of debauchery; by Goring, who associated himself in any plot, only to betray his comrades; and by Jermyn, who may have seen in the more desperate scheme a means of further ingratiating himself with the Queen. As soon as the agents in these two separate plans came together, and Jermyn, Goring, and Suckling revealed their scheme, they were opposed by Percy and Digby, and discarded by the King. There is not a fragment of real evidence that the more desperate scheme received any countenance whatever from any one entitled to speak on behalf of the King.[1]

But to keep alive the fiction of a purpose of armed intervention served the useful purpose of preventing the fears of Parliament from going to sleep. These fears were shown in no very dignified way. Parliament appealed to the city for protection. The trained bands surrounded Westminster. Hysterical excitement reigned within the House. The members went about as if they were in fear of their lives. The creaking of a beam in a gallery portended a new gunpowder plot, and the people's representatives ran scared from the House, and joined in the alarm of the loiterers outside.[2] The sight of patriots in hysterics is not an edifying one.

It still seemed to many not impossible that a compromise might yet be reached, and that the King might be able to use the certain reaction against the tyranny of Parliament to draw to his counsels some of the moderate men in the opposite ranks. The death of the Earl of Bedford, who, although he had vigorously opposed Strafford, had

[1] Professor Gardiner endeavours to prove that the two schemes were equally countenanced by the King, or at least that his aversion to the last was only lukewarm. The gossip of the Papal envoy is no sufficient evidence, and it is contradicted by all the more substantial proofs, and by the whole probabilities of the case.

[2] Rushworth, *Strafford's Trial*, 744.

endeavoured to prevent his death, and who was uneasy at the threatened destruction of all the landmarks of government, removed one who might have greatly assisted in this way. Essex, whose popularity throughout the country was unrivalled, who had unequalled sway in the army, and who brought a stout arm and a faithful heart to any cause he served, was induced to accept the post of Lord Chamberlain in place of Pembroke, and might have been gained still more had not the Earl of Holland, by a singular lack of discernment, been preferred by the King to Essex for the command of the army. There were rumours that even Pym and Hampden might be brought into the Council, and given high office, but such rumours, although they doubtless rested upon the fact that such a scheme was under consideration, never took actual shape. The Earl of Bristol, wisest, most experienced, most cautious of living statesmen, was given a post in the Household. In such a position, he might be helped in the efforts at conciliation which he was anxious to make.

But Charles had now planned another journey to Scotland, and cherished a hope, which proved to be but a delusive one, of obtaining help from that country. The Scots were by this time at variance with the Parliament, and pressed for the King's presence in their country, declaring that they were ready to spend their strength in his defence. He started on his progress northwards on August 10th, 1641, a few weeks before Parliament adjourned, as it did on September 9th, for a six weeks' recess.

The close of the first session gives to Hyde the opportunity of recounting and estimating the Acts to which the Royal Assent had been given. He emphasizes the magnitude of the concessions therein made by the King; and incidentally allows us to see what was his own attitude towards the changes thus brought about.

The Act for Triennial Parliaments he believes to have been of great benefit; and although the power granted of issuing writs in case of the failure of the Crown to do so was derogatory to the King, yet the advantages of the change were in his view great enough to outweigh these drawbacks.[1] The Act abolishing the High Commission Court, and that abolishing the Star Chamber were both, he thinks, justified and necessary; but he regrets that in doing away with the High Commission its jurisdiction in regard to certain moral offences was not supplied by some other means; and he hints that the reviving of the Star Chamber may hereafter be thought as politic as its removal was at that time.

The Act for limiting the Forest laws, and the jurisdiction of the Justice-in-Eyre's Court; that for limiting the authority of the King's Clerk of the Market; those against the exaction of fines in lieu of knighthood; for abolishing the monopoly for the manufacture of gunpowder; and against the Stannery Courts, were all, in Hyde's opinion, beneficial, although they diminished the revenue and prestige of the Crown. That abolishing ship-money he most cordially approves; and that which gave to Parliament the sole power of determining its own dissolution, he, with equal decision, condemns. It was the last time that he could pass any judgment upon the doings of the House, in which praise and blame could be mingled.

The King started on his journey to Scotland, much to the disgust of the Parliament, where there was some dread lest he should find effective aid from the Scots. But, whatever were his hopes or their fears, they were alike falsified by the result. He was obliged to shut his eyes to much open defiance of his power amongst the Scots; and although for a time he conceived that he might look for support to Argyle

[1] His tone, when discussing the repeal of the Act after the Restoration, is considerably more condemnatory of its provisions.

or Hamilton, he soon found that they were equally disloyal, and equally bent on securing their own power rather than admitting any semblance of authority in the Crown. Amid the obscure dissensions of Scottish factions, a scheme of vengeance on Argyle and Hamilton seems to have been started by some of their local enemies. It was conveniently ascribed to the machinations of the royalists, and the "Incident," as it was called, served only to increase the power of these two, the nominal supporters, but real custodians, of the King. Charles attempted still to conciliate their friendship by a show of courtesy, and on his departure from Scotland, raised Argyle to the rank of a Marquis, Hamilton to that of a Duke. But the Parliament found that, instead of enemies, they had new allies in these local potentates; and the dangers which these northern supporters were supposed to have incurred served as new reasons for increasing the demands made on the King by the "Inflexibles."

On October 20th the sittings of Parliament began again. The minds of men were excited by new rumours of danger to the cause, industriously fomented, and calling for the presence of an armed guard to protect the House. But it was soon apparent that serious dissidence had begun in the ranks of the reforming party, and that no unanimity was to attend their further debates. That circumstance only served as an excuse for new virulence and intolerance; for more drastic browbeating and tyranny; and for increased stringency in pushing their revolutionary demands. Hyde's position of estrangement from them was becoming every day more clear, and he did not stand alone.[1] He had an ally, bound

[1] It is at this point that marked divergence must necessarily arise in regard to the judgment to be passed upon the course of events, and the chief actors in them. It is well known that during the greater part of last century, the pages of the leading historians who depicted the time were deeply tinged, to some, it seems, grievously perverted, by an arrogant assumption of the unquestionable truth of Whig principles, and by a determination to find a glorification of these principles in the unassailable

to him by the closest ties of friendship, and of sympathy, in Falkland; and every day increased the number of those who were estranged by the excesses of the dominant party. In the Lords, a majority sympathized with the moderates, who followed the lead of Lord Bristol, and his son, Lord Digby.

With the beginning of November, a new project was started. This was the Grand Remonstrance. The House of Commons was to make an appeal to prejudice by restating all the grievances of the reign, all the wrong-doings of dead statesmen, all the allegations of popish schemes, and all the hindrances that had been placed in the way of that form of religious doctrine to which alone they were prepared to give the name of pure religion. Many of the grievances embodied in that Remonstrance had been the objects of Hyde's attacks, and he could not contradict their condemnation. But the open provocation involved in this renewal of buried controversies; the virulence of the references to the Church; and the defiance of all precedent

rectitude of those who stood out as the assertors of popular rights against the Crown in the seventeenth century, from whom these principles were deemed to be a sacred inheritance. The very exaggeration of this uniform tyranny of an accepted opinion led to a certain reaction; and, more recently the followers of these historians, animated by the same principles or prejudices, have cultivated an apparent, but not very real, impartiality of tone. If we are not to be allowed to judge the course of the struggle, and the motives and characters of those engaged in it, by ordinary rules of commonsense, apart from preconceived political ideas, then it may be permissible to doubt whether avowed and straightforward partisanship is not to be preferred to a painful strain of seeming impartiality, which, while it credits both parties with fidelity to their ideals, at the same time incessantly blames both for failing to realize some vague scheme of comprehensive toleration, which appears admirable to students in retrospect, but has little to attract the thoughts of men on the brink of a deadly fight. Somehow this impartiality of the student always contrives, in dealing with particular incidents, to find opportunity for depreciating the mental calibre, if not the moral character, of the adherents of the King, and to detect something in his own past acts, to deprive his action at any particular juncture of full justification; and, with equal regularity, discovers in Pym and his followers, an unfailing substratum of rectitude in their most flagrant acts of oppression, and holds them justified by their suspicion of the King, in their most daring defiance of legality.

in the methods adopted, ensured his dislike of the whole project, and his open hostility to it in its last stages.[1]

At first there was impatience that the Remonstrance should even be discussed. Cromwell upbraided Falkland for his desire to delay what ought to occasion but little debate. Cromwell found his calculation erroneous. In the last stage of what had been long and frequent debates often interrupted, the House met as usual, at eight in the morning, and it was only at midnight that the Remonstrance was finally adopted, and then only by a majority of eleven. A further struggle took place over its publication without the concurrence of the other House. An attempt to procure that concurrence might have resulted in defeat; at the best it would only have stript the Remonstrance of its menace as a sign of independent threatening on the part of the majority of the Commons. The debate on the question was

[1] The Remonstrance may be read in Rushworth, iv. 438. It was accompanied, when presented to the King, by a Petition, which urged that security should be taken against papacy; that the assent of the King should be given to the Bill which was to deprive the Bishops of their seats in the House of Lords (a Bill, be it observed, which had not yet received the assent of the Upper House); the removal of "malignant" counsellors; and the proper method of disposing of the lands which they presumed would be forfeited as a consequence of the rebellion in Ireland.

The Remonstrance itself is a long rigmarole of 206 numbered paragraphs. It has had a great name as the solemn manifesto of patriots struggling for liberty; but it is, in truth, a sorry production. It is rambling and discursive, without plan or arrangement, a farrago of narrative, of ejaculatory lamentations, of bitter invective, and of pietistic aspirations. The wrongs done to themselves are contrasted with the great benefits they have done to the King; the dangers that are to be dreaded from the Court, with the bright hopes inspired by their own efforts. It enumerates certain schemes of improvement—including such proposals as one for the improvement of the herring fishery, hardly, one would have thought, appropriate in the discussion of a Constitutional dispute. It looks as if each of the excited participants had contributed a fragment, stating his own particular grievance, and as if the whole were thrown together without the labour of revision, or any care for logical sequence. Not the most profound respect for the dignity of a great popular movement, can find in this confused jumble any distinction either of language or of sentiment. It is not, indeed, without an unconscious touch of humour, where it hints that the Parliamentary party may have deserved some blame for their undue moderation.

heated and prolonged,[1] and led to angry scenes, and to the usual trampling on independent opinion by the leaders of the "Inflexibles." Hyde claimed the right to enter his protest; and he was joined by many other members in an angry shout of dissent. Passions became so heated that it seemed as if swords would be drawn. At four in the morning, after the Remonstrance, the stormy debate upon the publication was adjourned. The essential point had been gained in the adoption of the Remonstrance itself. For its publication other steps could be taken. As they left the House, Falkland twitted Cromwell on his prophecy as to the curtness of debate. Cromwell told him "that he would take his word another time"; and gave him the whispered confidence, that "if the Remonstrance had been rejected, he would have sold all he had the next morning, and never have seen England more: and he knew there were many other honest men of the same resolution." Hyde may be forgiven for his comment, "So near was the poor Kingdom at that time to its deliverance." But Cromwell's statement is noteworthy, if we can accept it as sincere. It indicates that to some, at all events, the Remonstrance was not altogether an assertion of triumph, prompted by the arrogance of conscious power, but also a test of the security of a position which they felt to be extremely hazardous. If the last hypothesis is well-founded, it proves that the "Inflexibles" recognized how small their support in the nation was.

This happened on November 23rd. On the 25th Charles returned from Scotland, and made what seemed a triumphal entrance into London, where he was received by the City authorities on his way from Theobalds to Whitehall. The Lord Mayor was Gurney, a firm adherent of the Royalist

[1] Hyde says the debate went on till two in the morning; others put it two hours later. Whitelocke, possibly referring to a previous discussion on the subject, says it lasted from 3 p.m. till 10 a.m. next morning. The diurnals of the various authorities often vary in a perplexing way.

party, and the majority of the Common Council held his views. Once again the King found himself in the centre of a welcoming crowd, was received with every circumstance of honour, and heard those phrases of exaggerated loyalty which were familiar to the phraseology of the day. It was an indication that the views of the "Inflexibles" found few sympathizers amongst those who represented the centre of England's commercial interest, and who could control her financial position. Such a stronghold of royalist feeling had to be captured before Pym could feel his power secure.

At an opportune moment there came from Ireland an account of the Rebellion there, with every circumstance to stir the alarm, and kindle the prejudices, of those who were determined to identify the cause of the King with popish leanings, who represented episcopacy and the existing forms of Church government in England as only a half-way house to papacy, and who identified papacy with the deepest treachery and the most savage cruelty. It is a matter of common agreement that the accounts of the cruelties of the rebels were grossly exaggerated,[1] and that the narratives were strange compilations of unsifted evidence and superstitious fancies. But they were sufficient to revive, in all their alarming force, the stories of popish plots, and rumoured schemes of wholesale massacre, which added flame to the fuel of popular excitement, and stimulated attacks by the mob upon all who were supposed to have royalist sympathies. From day to day the bodyguard at Whitehall, and the gentlemen of the Inns of Court, were on the point of encounters with the apprentices of London, and the disorderly concourse of loiterers in the street. It seemed as

[1] Estimates were made by some which represented the deaths amongst the English settlers at 200,000 or even 300,000; an unduly moderate estimate—as it was thought—was that of Hyde, which put it at 40,000. It is now agreed that the deaths within two or three years could not have exceeded some figure between 12,000 and 20,000. See Gardiner, x. 68.

if, unbidden and spontaneously, civil war might any day break out in the streets of London.

Charles had returned with some confidence from Scotland, in spite of ominous signs of opposition to his authority there. On December 1st, the Remonstrance was presented to him at Hampton Court on behalf of the House of Commons. The member commissioned to do so was Sir Ralph Hopton; but although that sincere and loyal heart may have been persuaded that the Remonstrance was, in the circumstances, a necessary guarantee of their security, he must have already had doubts as to many of the schemes of his associates.[1] The King listened to the Petition in a mood of confident and almost disdainful imperturbability. He interrupted its reading with an easy repudiation of insinuations about the papist attempts to pervert him, and bade them be careful, with reference to the suggestion as to disposing of lands to be forfeited on account of the Irish rebellion, for dealing with which they had provided no effective means, not "to sell the bear's skin before it was dead." The next day he returned to Westminster, and assured the House of his determination not only to maintain the existing Acts of Parliament, but "to grant what else can be justly desired in point of liberties or in maintenance of the true religion as here established."

But his confidence was misplaced, and he was in dire need of a true counsellor who would honestly tell him the plain facts of the position. It soon appeared that no reliance could be placed on the support of the city. Mob-law then prevailed, and on December 21st, the power of Sir Richard Gurney and his sympathizers was swept away by a new election of the Common Council, which left the Parlia-

[1] Hopton seems to have read to the King only the Petition, and not the Remonstrance itself. This last was probably considered to be something to which all were allowed to contribute something, but for the rambling inconsequence of which no one in particular was to be held responsible.

mentary party supreme. Rumours of popish plots, and of threatened armed intervention concocted by the papal advisers of the Queen, were rife, and had exasperated both the Parliament and the London crowds.

No one saw better than Hyde the need of new and wiser advisers for the King. Again there was some expectation, which Hyde would willingly have seen realized, that the King would disarm some of his antagonists by calling them to assume office as his ministers, and it was thought that Pym, Hampden and Hollis might be induced to accept office.[1] It was at this juncture that Hyde himself, for the first time, although without office, was called on to discharge an important service for the Crown. The Parliamentary party had issued their manifesto to the nation in the Grand Remonstrance, and it became necessary to issue a counter manifesto in the form of a reply. The history of the incident is curious. Hyde, it appears, "only to give vent to his indignation, and without the least purpose of communicating it" had drawn up a full reply. His intimate friend Lord Digby came to see him "where he was alone amongst his books and papers;" and Hyde, as the result of their talk, read to him this reply, with which Digby was greatly impressed, and asked his leave to show it to the King. Some reply had to be issued at once: and a few days later, Lord Digby came to confess that, in conversation with the King, he had told him of Hyde's draft, and of his own high estimate of its force; and how, as a consequence, the King had conjured Digby to send him the paper. Hyde was annoyed at what Digby had done, whose "over-activity, to which his restless fancy always disposed him," was distasteful to Hyde: but there was nothing for it but to deliver up the paper, on condition of the strictest secrecy, and with the stipulation that it should not be published without the advice

[1] *Rebellion*, iv. 76.

of the King's Council. His conditions were observed. The reply was adopted by the Council, and published about the end of December.[1] As soon as it was issued, the force of its arguments, its clear appeal to the arbitrament of the law; its studied moderation; the dexterity with which it indicates rather than too bluntly states, the excesses of the Parliament; and above all, its appeal to the sober sense of justice in the nation—all showed that a new mind was enlisted in the service of the King. Those at whom it was aimed could make no effort at a reply. They could only seek to penetrate the secret of authorship, that they might glut their vengeance.[2]

The hope that Pym and Hampden might become ministers of the Crown was disappointed; but on January 2nd, $164\frac{2}{1}$; a change of importance in his advisers was made by Charles. Falkland became Secretary of State, and Colepepper Chancellor of the Exchequer. The two men had little in common. Falkland, with strong popular sympathies, an almost exaggerated dislike of any straining of the prerogative, and a very decided leaning to latitudinarian views in religion, had nevertheless been driven, in his dislike of the Parliamentary excesses—a dislike bred at once of conscience and of temperament—to see that the authority of the Crown and the safety

[1] This reply to the Remonstrance, is given by Nalson (vol. ii. p. 746), and fully represents the case from the King's point of view. Hyde (*History of Rebellion*, iv. 82) gives an abridged version which quite fairly expresses its general drift. The answer cited by Professor Gardiner, as printed in Rushworth (vol. iv. p. 452), is not Hyde's answer to the Remonstrance, but a short and summary reply to the Petition which accompanied the Remonstrance. It is merely formal, and is of no particular importance.

It is significant that Professor Gardiner does not think it necessary to say one word as to Hyde's authorship of the reply to the Remonstrance. To pass over in silence the authorship of a State paper of the first moment, which marks a new epoch in the King's dealings with the Parliament, and defines the attitude of his principal adviser; to omit all reference to the paper itself, and to cite in its stead a short reply to a different and less important paper, is, to say the least of it, a considerable concession, in an historian of such minute accuracy, to his own overmastering desire to belittle Hyde's part in the history of his time.

[2] The circumstances are fully narrated by Hyde in his *Life*, i. 97.

of the Church must be defended; and once he had come to that conclusion, his chivalrous sentiment of loyalty defined his place for him. To the service of the Crown he brought indomitable energy and perseverance, absolute unselfishness, and a calm judgment. He could not bring to it either ripe experience or any constructive statesmanship. But he helped to secure to Charles's service the invaluable counsel and the powerful pen of Hyde.

Colepepper was a man of another mould. He had few gifts of nature to ingratiate himself at Court, or to make him a dexterous debater. But he had courage and confidence, a spirit free from prejudice, and little likely to be swayed by any overpowering sense of religious feeling. He could carry his personal independence to the length of combating, even in those of highest place, opinions with which he did not agree; and if his views were expressed with what was sometimes inconvenient emphasis, they nevertheless managed to obtain ascendency by the dogged force of his arguments. With no grace of oratory, he could nevertheless intervene with telling effect at the close of a debate, and so marshal the arguments as to prevail upon the general sense of the House. Such men as Falkland and Colepepper were at least an improvement upon the wayward volatility which marred Digby's brilliant talents, upon the treacherous versatility of Vane, or upon the avowed and sulky opposition of St. John.

It was about the same time that Hyde himself received a pressing invitation from the King to accept office. Again he was summoned to the royal presence—this time by Digby; and on being introduced he found that the Queen was to be a partaker in the interview. The King told him that "he was much beholden to him for many good services, and proposed to make him his solicitor-general, in the place of him (St. John) who had served him so ill." Hyde suddenly

answered, "God forbid." The King was surprised, and asked his reason. "It was not," said Hyde, "fit at this time that he should remove the other; and if he were removed, himself was in no degree fit for it." The Queen pressed on him the acceptance of the post, and declared that good judges had thought him "as fit for it as the other." Hyde remained unmoved. The King might, indeed, he admitted with his usual dexterous bluntness, have better filled the vacancy with another man than St. John, but it was inopportune to remove him, and when that was done, it ought to be filled by the ablest man of the profession, not by one so young and inexperienced as himself. The Queen deprecated such modesty, but Hyde was not to be moved. "Madam," he replied, "when you know me better you will find me not so modest, but that I hope, by your Majesty's favour, to be made a better man;" but though St. John could never do much service, he would be more mischievous if removed. The King then offered another place; but Hyde's purpose was fixed. He was determined to enter the King's service without office or reward, and so it was arranged. With Falkland and Colepepper, he was to be in constant consultation, and they three were to guide his Majesty's affairs. The King "pledged himself very solemnly" that without their advice he would take no step in Parliament. We shall see presently how soon he found himself betrayed into a disastrous breach of that solemn pledge. Hyde had now taken the most momentous decision of his life; and we can understand its importance only by estimating all that it involved. To refuse a lucrative post, and especially one like the Solicitor-Generalship, which was lucrative rather by fees than by direct payment from the Court, was probably a matter which counted for little with Hyde. He had a competence ample enough to have warranted him already in abandoning his profession. Personally he had no greed for money, and his position at that time

involved no heavy expenses. It was much more that he should definitely range himself on one side in a fierce political struggle, and that the side against which, as he clearly saw, the tide was running fast.[1] Only two motives could decide him. One was personal loyalty; but although that was a motive which his long misfortunes, and the deepening of his character by their means, strengthened into devotion, it was probably not so ardent in the earlier days of Hyde's association with the King as it was in retrospect. The other was Hyde's passionate attachment to the Church, and to those broad lines of the Constitution, which he conceived to be entwined indissolubly with all that was strongest and most distinctive in the Church.[2] In his fidelity to these two principles we may find the key to Hyde's character, the source of his indomitable courage, unwavering alike in the darkest gloom of misfortune, and in the delusive gleams of a fitful sunshine; the explanation of the consummate skill with which his pilotage steered the vessel into port at last. To picture Hyde as a pedantic lawyer, bound in the meshes of legal precedent, is a ludicrous travesty. The steadfastness which could weather storms, the dexterity which could conduct long and delicate negociations, nominally as the representative of a powerful sovereign, in reality as the discredited agent of a vagabond and beggarly crew, who masqueraded as a

[1] "He did believe that the King would be oppressed by that party which then governed, and that they who followed and served him would be destroyed" (*Life*, i. 110). But Hyde's forecast does not imply that he thought that a reaction might not come at a later date. He and his associates might be destroyed, but the cause might survive.

[2] "He had a most zealous esteem and reverence for the Constitution of the Government, and believed it so equally poised, that if the least branch of the prerogative was torn off, or parted with, the subject suffered by it, and that his right was impaired; and he was just as much troubled when the Crown exceeded its just limits, and thought its prerogative was hurt by it, and therefore not only never consented to any diminution of the King's authority, but always wished that the King would not consent to it, with what importunity or impetuosity soever it was desired and pressed" (*Life*, i. 109). Hyde is at least, explicit; but a firm attachment to the Constitution is not the same thing as a stickling for legal forms.

Court; the knowledge of human nature which could construct a policy out of the warring factions of a dissolute crowd, and could grasp chance occasions and impress his own mark upon a reconstructed constitution—these are not the qualities that are developed out of the stuff of legal pedantry; yet all these qualities Hyde was yet, most indubitably, to show. From this moment, a young man of thirty-three, he made his choice, and almost alone amidst the shifting crowd, he maintained one unchanging attitude, and pursued one consistent aim. His most malevolent critics must acquit him of all sordid motives, if only for the sufficient reason that such motives were absolutely non-existent in his case. Young as he was, he was sagacious enough to cling to his faith in the instinctive bias of his countrymen, which would ultimately keep them true to the traditions of a balanced constitution and a tempered and decorous ordering of the national Church;[1] seeking no sordid end, he had ambition enough, of the kind that was kept alive by the conviction that he could play a notable part in the great struggle that was impending.

We have seen, and shall see again, how ardent was the affection between Hyde and Falkland, although their natures were in many respects strangely different. But between these two and Colepepper there was little which could deepen their association in public business, into anything like the cordiality of warm friendship. Colepepper had passed his earlier years in the hard discipline of foreign service, and his hot head and rough courage savoured more of the soldier of adventure, than of the counsellor who was to steer a policy in the stormy currents of parliamentary strife. But his shrewdness and independence, and the quick decision of his

[1] "He did really believe the Church of England the most exactly formed and framed for the encouragement of learning and piety, and for the preservation of peace, of any Church in the world" (*Life*, i. 109).

judgments, balanced his uncourtliness of mien, and the passionate turbulence of his temper. Religion was with him rather a matter of policy than of conviction. The narrowness of his means might have made a smaller man greedy of gain; but his life was simple and his habits thrifty, and by these he was saved from "stooping to any corrupt ways, to which he was not inclined."[1] The picture which Hyde draws of his association is coloured by no warmth of friendship, but it credits Colepepper with all the essential qualities that command respect.

On the whole, the three acted very amicably together. Colepepper's rougher methods were encountered by greater skill and dexterity, but by an equally impetuous temper, in Hyde, while the more equable temperament of Falkland had often to be called in to allay their strife. Hyde's steadiness of policy swayed the other two; and in any doubtful point of counsel, the King was used to ask "whether Ned Hyde were of that opinion." This implies that, when matters were fully discussed, it was "Ned Hyde" who often gave the casting vote. But the more free access of Falkland and Colepepper to the King frequently gave an opportunity for the adoption of measures of which Hyde disapproved.

[1] Clarendon, *Life*, i. 106.

CHAPTER VI

INCREASING EXASPERATION, AND THE WAR OF WORDS

In the hands of his three new advisers, it might have been hoped that the King's affairs would proceed more smoothly. Falkland had high aims, unresting industry, and was above all suspicion of corruption. Colepepper, with all his rash impetuosity, was honest and clear-sighted; and Hyde had a steady conviction as to the course which it was wisest for the King to pursue. But their fears were now excited by underlying suspicions, and it was soon found that a steady pursuance of the policy which was agreed upon amongst these three advisers was made impossible by these fears and these suspicions, which invaded the precincts of the Court.

The brawls and disturbances about Whitehall were matters of daily occurrence, and mob-law, which found encouragement in the violent dissension amongst those in authority, stimulated each party to new schemes for their own protection, and new projects of attack upon their opponents. The Parliament surrounded themselves with armed guards, and passed resolutions against the "malignants" who surrounded the King; the Court summoned its adherents to arm themselves for their own protection, and the cavaliers and templars drove off the mobs who were clamouring at the gates of Whitehall. Amongst those who frequented the Court of the Queen there were fierce spirits who cared little for constitutional ideals, and were inclined

to take more drastic measures for crushing the tyranny of the Parliamentary majority, and the crowds of rioters whom that majority encouraged to browbeat their opponents. There were rumours of schemes for impeaching the Queen, and to these fiercer spirits it seemed that such schemes could best be met by bold reprisals. It is to this we must ascribe the rash step now taken by the King, without that consultation with those selected advisers to which he had solemnly pledged himself.

Lord Digby was amongst the chief of those whose rashness was to be feared. As the son of Lord Bristol, who had encountered, with dignity, the enmity of the Duke of Buckingham when at the height of his favour, Digby had little reason to court the favour of the Crown, and had withdrawn from the crowd that sought office or emolument. He had disliked the policy of Strafford, and had shown his sympathy for those who organized a Parliamentary resistance. He had helped in the impeachment of the great minister, and was looked upon as one of the most eloquent defenders of the popular cause. But although not of the Court, Digby was a polished courtier, endowed by nature with all the mental and physical gifts that fitted him for the part. A born aristocrat, he had no mind to see distinctions of society levelled, or to have the rank, the privileges, or the luxuries of his order trampled on by the common herd. He was too proud to stoop to injustice, and had manfully resisted the sinister vengeance of the Attainder Bill. The breach between himself and the " Inflexibles " grew rapidly wider ; his opposition to their schemes more marked ; and while, in common with his father, he found himself the mark of the insults of the mob, who discerned in him the proudest of the order whose privileges they wished to curtail, he found the King ready to accept his service and was called up to the House of Lords just when the dominant majority in the

Commons were preparing to mete out to him the discipline kept ready for refractory members. Endowed as he was, he soon found means to conciliate the friendship of the Queen, and became involved in those romantic schemes that were to save her from the vengeance of her sworn foes. There could be no surer passport to the confidence of the King.

Neither the personal graces, the brilliant wit, nor the freedom of manners; of Digby were likely to win for him the friendship of Falkland, whose simplicity of nature framed a far different ideal of aristocratic duty. But Hyde's knowledge of the world tolerated, and Colepepper's military bluntness was attracted by, an ally whom neither entirely trusted. They were soon to realize more clearly the danger in which he might involve their master and themselves.

"He was a man," says Hyde, "of very extraordinary parts by nature and art, and had surely as good and excellent an education as any person of that age in any country; a graceful and beautiful person; of great eloquence and becomingness in his discourse, and of so universal knowledge that he never wanted subject for a discourse."[1] To these gifts Digby added, unluckily, a strain of affectation, and, with "an ambition and vanity superior to all his other parts," a "confidence peculiar to himself, which sometimes intoxicated and transported and exposed him." Such a character was an inconvenient ally, in a time when wary dealing was above all things needful. It was he and the Queen who inspired the new act of senseless recklessness.

On January 3rd, Herbert, the Attorney-General, was instructed to impeach of high treason before the Lords, Lord Kimbolton, the son of the Earl of Manchester, and five members of the House of Commons, Pym, Hampden, Hollis, Hazlerigg and Strode. At the same time the House of

[1] *Rebellion*, iv. 127.

Commons received a message, asking for their arrest. The message to the Lords, however dangerous, was strictly legal. But the arrest was a matter which, according to precedent, lay with the House of Commons alone. The Lords returned a temporizing answer; the Commons appealed to their privilege.

The next day (January 4th) the King took a far more questionable step. Entering a coach at Whitehall, he summoned his armed retinue to follow him, drove to the House, and barely announcing his presence, entered the House, took his place at the Speaker's Chair, and asked that the members denounced should be handed over to him. They had already received full warning, had been forced to withdraw, and were shortly safe from arrest in the city. Their rooms, however, were visited and their papers sealed, only to be broken open by the order of the House. The King and the Commons were now openly at defiance. He found his authority scouted; they believed their personal liberty to be in danger. The King, trusting to the loyalty of the Lord Mayor, Sir Richard Gurney—who no longer commanded a majority in the Common Council—visited the Guildhall next day in a vain attempt to intimidate the City by his presence; but he was received in the streets where he had so lately been acclaimed, with sullen looks and shouts of "Privilege of Parliament." For the moment he was not moved from his purpose.

The incident came as a shock to Hyde, Falkland, and Colepepper. These three—

"Without whose privity the King had promised them he would enter upon no new counsel, were so much displeased and dejected that they were inclined never more to take upon themselves the care of anything to be transacted in the House; finding already that they could not avoid being looked upon as the authors of those counsels, to which they

were so absolute strangers, and which they so perfectly detested." [1]

Digby's was the ill-omened advice to which the counsels were due, and to his rashness he added the guilt of dissimulation. When the impeachment was brought before the Lords, he whispered to Kimbolton, next to whom he sat—

"That the King was very mischievously advised; and that it would go very hard, but he would know whence that counsel proceeded; in order to which, and to prevent further mischief, he would go immediately to his Majesty." [2]

The mischief was already done. Only "the abstracted consideration of their duty and conscience, and of the present ill condition the King was in" kept Hyde and his companions longer at their task. The very straits of their master made them staunch. Though often tried, Hyde never again allowed such vexation to quench the ardour of his loyalty.

It was to little purpose that the King, who speedily recognized the ill consequences of his act, endeavoured to soothe the susceptibilities of the House, and professed his respect for their privileges. New guarantees must now be found to secure them against such attempts in future; new advances on the part of the reformers seemed to be imperatively called for.

Such was the position when the King resolved, with his wife and family, to quit Whitehall for Hampton Court, whence on January 13th, he moved to Windsor. He was not to see Whitehall again until the fatal day in January, 1649.

The scheme of impeachment had virtually failed, and its forced abandonment left the majority in Parliament in possession of the field. Two questions now became chiefly prominent, as those upon which that majority were to

[1] *Rebellion*, iv. 158. [2] *Ibid.*, iv. 154.

display their triumph. These were the Bill for the Exclusion of the Bishops from the House of Lords, and the settlement of the authority which should dispose of the military forces of the country—the Militia question, as it was generally called. There can be no doubt that, according to all legal and constitutional principle, the control of any military force lay with the Crown. But the expenses it involved could be supplied only by the House of Commons. Special exigencies, however, might arise, which would require the Crown to exercise its right without the preliminary financial guarantee; and it was the special prerogative thus involved that was at once the foundation of Strafford's plans, and of the fears and suspicions of the Commons. Subsequent developments of constitutional practice made better provision against this essential element of contradiction. But, apart from all this, it is none the less indisputable that, according to the constitution, the supreme command of any military force rested with the Crown.

The question was constantly in dispute during these winter months. Two Bills for its settlement had been introduced, and had made a certain progress. In connection with one of these Hyde brings a distinct charge of bad faith on the part of St. John, and of treachery to his duty as a servant of the Crown. The Bill proposed to settle the question of military command. Hyde argued that such a settlement was unnecessary, as that command clearly belonged to the Crown. St. John declared that this was not warranted by the law, and that his duty as a minister was to insist upon a decision, so that all doubt should be removed. With a view, nominally, to remove doubts, but in reality to have the question settled in favour of Parliament, he introduced a Bill providing that the control should rest with ——, the rest being left blank to be filled in by Parliament. But now the procedure by Bill had been abandoned, and in its

place there was proposed a Militia Ordinance, vesting the authority in the hands of persons to be named by Parliament. The question of the confirmation of this Ordinance was that which was now urged upon the King, along with the confirmation of the Bishops' Exclusion Bill.

Unfortunately the three chosen advisers did not agree in regard to these two crucial questions. Colepepper, supported by Falkland, as well as by the immediate advisers of the Queen, was in favour of a concession on the Bishops' Exclusion Bill, and a firm refusal of the Militia Ordinance, while Hyde thought that the Bishops' Exclusion was the more dangerous of the two, but that both proposals should be resisted. Supported by the Queen, the view of Colepepper prevailed. The royal assent was given to the Exclusion Bill on February 13th. The "Inflexibles" were elated, and the Royalists proportionably dismayed. Hyde feared, as proved to be the case, that whatever the King decided as to the Militia Ordinance, the Parliament would, as the event proved, "wrest it out of his hand without his consent." At the same time, Digby, who was chiefly responsible for these and previous disastrous counsels, fled to the Continent.

The King already recognized that the real power had practically passed out of his hands. This had made him anxious to be elsewhere than in the immediate neighbourhood of the Parliament, at Whitehall. For himself, he would not have fled before personal danger, but his fears were aroused by what seemed to him to be the imminent danger to the Queen. In spite of the remonstrances of Parliament, she left the country for the Hague before the end of February, and the King now resolved to do what he could to rally his adherents to his side by putting a greater distance between himself and Parliament. Orders had been issued from the House, which virtually assumed the validity of the Militia

Ordinance, and placed the towns which favoured the Parliament's cause under the command of those whom they could trust. With this view Sir John Hotham was despatched to hold the fortifications and stores at Hull.

In taking his departure from Whitehall, the King had desired to have the Prince in his company, while the Parliament were determined to hinder this to the utmost of their power. The Prince was now under the guardianship of the Marquis of Hertford at Richmond, and to Hertford they sent a message forbidding the removal of the Prince. Once more Hyde was called in, and by his shrewd management, which prevented rash action on the part of the King, the company of his son was secured. He persuaded the King to withdraw an unwise letter, and to remain satisfied with the substantial advantage. Charles now retired towards York, leaving Hyde to watch, and to keep him informed on the course of events. He was to forward draft replies to the missives which the Parliament might send, and these drafts the King promised to copy in his own hand. In reality he was to be a hostage in the hand of the enemy.

Hyde did not shrink either from the danger or the incessant and anxious labour that this charge involved. It was the more irksome because he thought the King's absence a mistake. The Parliament strongly resented it, and sent a remonstrance to the King. Hyde again dreaded a rash reply; and through his close friend, Lord Grandison,[1] he managed to apprize the King of the impending message, and to urge him to temporize in his reply. He had still

[1] William Villiers, second Viscount Grandison, was the son of Sir Edward Villiers, and nephew of the great Duke of Buckingham. His mother was niece of Oliver St. John, who was created Viscount Grandison, with remainder to the issue of this niece, whose son, William Villiers, thus became second Viscount. He was a man whose loyalty was above reproach, and whose character Hyde held in the highest esteem, and this deepened the grief with which he viewed the evil notoriety which the daughter of his old friend attained as mistress of Charles II. She became Lady Castlemaine, and afterwards Duchess of Cleveland.

hopes that some amongst the Parliamentary party, such as Essex and Pembroke, might have come to recognize how much they had to lose in the flood of revolutionary change, submerging all social distinctions, and might be ready to help towards a compromise. Hyde would have had the King stay to make hazard of that hope; but the King's mind was fixed, and on March 3rd he began his progress to York.

The conduct of the Parliament might not unreasonably have shaken the confidence of the King, as to his personal safety in their company.

"The practice both Houses had gotten, to send for persons by a sergeant-at-arms upon any suggestions of light discourse, or upon general and ungrounded suspicion, by which they were compelled to give long attendance, if they were not committed to prison, had so terrified all conditions of men, that very few resorted to Court." [1]

We have abundant instances to justify these and even stronger words. Benyon, a London citizen, for petitioning that the City Government should not be altered, was condemned to lose his franchise; to be for ever disqualified for office; to pay a fine of £3000; and to be imprisoned for two years. Sir Edward Deering, whose inflated eloquence had so tickled his own ears, that for the half contemptuous applause it met with, he had allowed himself to be carried far on the current of revolution, at last found himself the object of impeachment, for presenting a very reasonable petition from the freeholders of Kent. On the other hand, the London mob, the market porters, and the shopmen's wives were profoundly thanked for petitions, in which they ascribed their poverty to the wickedness of the "malignants," and plainly threatened that if these were not removed they

[1] *Life*, i. 128.

would take the law into their own hands.[1] Sir Ralph Hopton, who at last was wearied of their political buffooneries—was committed to the Tower for having said, when they solemnly adduced evidence from Rome, Venice, Paris, and other places as to the King's designs against Parliament and for a change of religion, that they "grounded an opinion of the King's apostasy upon evidence which would not hang a man for stealing a horse."[2] A tradesman named Sandeford, who had "cursed the Parliament, called Warwick and Essex traitors, and declared that Pym and Hotham should be hanged," was sentenced to a fine, to stand in the pillory, to be whipped from Cheapside to Westminster, and to be kept to hard labour for his life. These are only a few instances of the even-handed justice, the calm moderation and the mild toleration, of these defenders of liberty who had been shocked because Strafford was stern to a selfish and corrupt office-seeker like Mountnorris, or because the Star-chamber occasionally condemned a persistent libeller to the clipping of his ears.

While they were thus trampling on the laws of which they claimed to be the sole defenders, they did not cease to make new applications to the King, grounded on their fears and jealousies. On March 9th, they sent a message to meet him at Newmarket, which he had reached on his way to York. They had established a reign of terror at Westminster, and had already assumed to themselves military command, yet they still besought him to return and to accept the Militia Ordinance. Pembroke, who was one of the mission,

[1] Hyde prints two of these petitions (*Rebellion*, iv. 262), one from the Porters, and another from "the Poor about London." The Porters urge that their condition can be improved only if the Cinque Ports are fortified against the Papists. This is the petition which that portentously solemn Whig, Mr. George Brodie, "does not hesitate to pronounce a forgery by Clarendon"—the fact being that Brodie, historical purist as he was, had failed to examine the *Commons Journals* with that care he professed. See Lister's *Life of Clarendon*, vol. i. p. 123.

[2] *Rebellion*, iv. 338.

and who, perhaps, still indulged in hopes of a compromise, pressed for the King's return, and suggested that the Militia Ordinance might be accepted "for a time." Charles answered fiercely, "By God—not for an hour. You have asked that of me was never asked of a King, and with which I will not trust my wife and children." [1]

The hollow pretence that a Government existed in which any other voice could prevail than that of the majority in Parliament was already exploded. The ministers of the King no longer held administrative power. Step by step the nation was moving to the inevitable crisis of civil war.

Hyde soon found that his position as regards the King on one side, and Parliament on the other, involved him in suspicion, and that his liberty and even his life were threatened. The authorship of those disastrously weighty replies to the fulminations of the Parliament was soon detected. Essex and Holland had chanced, by their possession of keys as Chamberlain and Lord of the Bedchamber, to detect Hyde closeted with the King at Greenwich, and it was vain to suppose that his close relations with the Court could longer be concealed. It soon appeared, however, that the dominant party were prepared to follow up their suspicions by acts, and no trust could be placed in any scruple as to defect of legality which they might feel. Keen as were their spies, Colepepper managed to have spies as keen to ferret out their designs, and he soon informed Hyde of their intention to commit him to the Tower. Falkland and Colepepper himself would doubtless have followed him there before long.

For a time the three friends stood their ground in Parliament and defied their enemies. To make their committal effective, it was necessary that the blow should fall on all three at once. Could they all be found in Parliament

[1] Rushworth, iv. 532; *Rebellion*, iv. 344.

together, it was only a case of passing a resolution—the mildest criticism of which would doubtless have involved some new waverer in pains and penalties—and the three obnoxious advisers of the Crown would have been immured in the Tower. But to desert their posts suddenly would have been disastrous, and would have brought the final breach appreciably nearer. They arranged that the three should never all be absent from the House and should never all be present. One or two at the most attended to watch the proceedings, while maintaining a most careful reserve. The others kept on the alert for any contingency that might necessitate flight.

Towards the close of April the King commanded Hyde's attendance at York. But there was still business to be done at Westminster. The Lord Keeper Littleton was there, and some doubt prevailed as to the cordiality of his loyalty to the King's cause, and as to his willingness to take the Great Seal to the King at York. Even in such an upturning of all precedents as had already befallen, forms did not count for nothing, and it was of vital importance that the custody of the Great Seal should be with the King. Littleton had to be advised with, to be reconciled, and to be assisted to escape.[1]

[1] Littleton was not one of the least interesting figures in an age rich in the brilliant qualities of those who played the leading parts on the political stage. Like so many of the lawyers of that day, he was no mere product of a legal training. Of good birth and fair fortune, with gifts of person and of mind, he had learned how to bear himself so as to wear the reputation of a man of courage, which he had earned by the sword. After the adventures of his early youth he had employed himself in the law, and, besides acquiring much skill in the more recondite parts of the law, he had obtained a lucrative practice. Drawn into the service of the Crown, he had become Solicitor-General, and, favoured both by Strafford and Laud, had been appointed Lord Chief Justice. For that post he was eminently fitted; but, in his further steps, he scarcely realized the promise of his earlier days. After the flight of Finch, he had become Lord Keeper; but his performance there had disappointed the hopes of the King. He had failed to show any courage in Strafford's defence; became suspected of disloyalty, and this suspicion inclined the King to deprive him of the seals. It was only on Hyde's urgency that he retained Littleton in office but without confidence; and now, in the crisis of his fortunes, he feared that Littleton might desert

All this was done by the deft management of Hyde, and on June 3rd, the King had his Lord Keeper, with his Great Seal, at his side in York.

Hyde saw soon that his own work in London was over. He was required in York to assist in drafting a reply to the nineteen propositions embodied in the declaration of June 2nd. But it was necessary to use all caution in making his escape, as every movement of his was watched. On pretext of illness that required a change of air—duly certified by his physician—he removed himself from London, and stayed at Lady Lee's house at Ditchley, near Oxford. The flight of the Lord Keeper roused new suspicions against Hyde, which presently took active shape. But designs that were the talk of a parliamentary crowd were soon divulged. His old friend Dr. Morley heard of the mischief brewing, and that, on the next day, Hyde was to be impeached of high treason. No time was to be lost. Falkland was informed, and a message sent to Hyde at Ditchley. Even then it was no easy matter for one so ignorant of the northern roads to reach York without falling into the hands of the emissaries of Parliament. At this juncture, Hyde found an old friend who could help him. Chillingworth, one of that happy circle that used to gather under Falkland's roof at Tew, offered to be his guide to York, and by devious ways, through Coventry and Lutterworth, and so through Derbyshire, they passed to Nostall, within twenty miles of York, where Hyde awaited a further summons from the King. It was not long in reaching him. An answer to the Parliament's declaration was urgently called for, "that the poison thereof might not

his cause. Littleton was depressed by this want of confidence, which he quickly perceived, and it was only by Hyde's contrivance that the friction was got rid of, and that the Lord Keeper was induced to take the bold step of passing over to the King at York, and defying the vengeance of the Parliament. But the essential point was gained—that the Great Seal was in the King's custody.

work too long upon the minds of the people ; " and no hand could draw it with the eloquence or skill of Hyde.

The Parliament soon took notice of his absence. The Speaker explained it on the ground of his being troubled with the stone, and produced the physician's certificate. But the position was quickly guessed. " He was troubled," said one orator, " with no stone but the stone in his heart." But however they might rage, the bird was flown, and they presently heard of him as one of the company that had gathered round the King at York.

Events had been moving forward rapidly there. Each side was now marshalling its forces, and there were few who could doubt that the dispute must soon be referred to the arbitrament of war. The King's refusal to assent to the Militia Ordinance had been answered by the Parliament by the open assertion of their military authority. Eight thousand of the London Trained Bands were reviewed before the Houses in Finsbury Fields, and notices had been issued to those whom they had named as Lord Lieutenants to make levies elsewhere. The King proclaimed the treason involved in these orders, and on his own side summoned those who adhered to the constitution to lend him their aid. The attention of both sides had been particularly turned upon Hull, where the King had gathered an abundant store of ammunition and artillery, and which was strongly fortified. Its position and its easy access to the Continent rendered it doubly important when the Queen was busily employed in gathering arms and munitions of war in Holland, and was raising money by the sale of her jewels. The Earl of Warwick, as their Lord Admiral, was ordered by the Parliament to remove the stores to London, and Sir John Hotham, whose appointment as Governor we have already noted, was bidden to hold the place against the King. On April 23rd, the King appeared at the gates with a following of three hundred men,

and summoned Hotham to admit him. Hotham pleaded the orders of his masters, the Houses of Parliament, and closed the gates in the face of his sovereign. The town was in favour of the King, but was overawed by the presence of Hotham's garrison. It would scarcely be wrong to say that the Civil War dated from that day.

The dramatic character of that incident; the personal insult to the King; the sight of his own citadel's gates closed against the sovereign—these have all given to the scene at Hull a prominence that is perhaps a little exaggerated. Hotham's bluff refusal, his perplexed career, with its strange story of a deadly feud between father and son, and its tragic end, have thrown a lurid colour on his figure, which seems to be intensified by the fact that he was the first who actually stood in arms against his sovereign, and face to face defied his orders. But it is not quite so easy to pronounce a verdict as to his action. A military commander has no alternative but to act in accordance with the written orders that have placed him in his command. No political superior, not the King himself, can by his personal presence override these orders, even if they were issued in his name. If, in our own day, the Secretary of State for War were to appear in an armed garrison and personally to interfere with the general's authority, it would, we apprehend, be the duty of that general to place him under arrest until he received written and duly attested orders from head-quarters. The King's personal intervention was, to say the least of it, unwise. He could have issued an order, duly certified by a minister, and despatched a representative to carry it out; and had the order been correct in law, Hotham would have been guilty of treason for his disobedience to it. But his personal presence only complicated the matter. Hotham was there under the written commission of the Parliament; he might justly plead that, as a military commander, he had nothing

to do with political disputes, and that it was none of his business to analyse the authority of his commission. It is not impossible that greater dexterity in the preliminary measures might have led to a different result.[1] It would, at all events, have spared the King a damaging personal rebuff.

During these last weeks a shower of declarations and counter declarations passed between the Parliament and the King, the arguments for the King being in each case drafted by Hyde. To give these in detail would be more in place in a history of the Civil War, than in the biography of Hyde. They were studiously moderate in tone, and avoided any exaggerated claim for the prerogative. Hyde's ideal, as we must often insist, was a constitutional monarchy, and not an absolutism framed on foreign models. He knew also that the appeal was made, not to Parliament, nor to any high court of appeal, which might decide the questions in dispute according to some legal maxim, but to the moderate majority of the nation, whose human sympathies were to be enlisted on behalf of the Crown. Hyde's moderation found critics amongst the supporters of the King, who thought his arguments unduly imbued with the spirit of accommodation, and Hobbes, in the *Behemoth*, is sarcastic about those "either lawyers by profession, or such gentlemen as had the ambition to be thought so," who drafted these declarations—

[1] This seems to be Hyde's opinion. "Many were of opinion that if he had been prepared dexterously beforehand, and in confidence, he (Hotham) would have conformed to the King's pleasure; for he was master of a noble fortune in land, and rich in money, of an ancient family and well allied, his affections to the Government very good, and no man less desired to see the nation involved in a civil war than he" (*Rebellion*, v. 91). It must be remembered that Hotham's sympathies, as was on more than one occasion subsequently proved, were not entirely against the King. In the June following, he refused to betray Digby, who had landed in disguise and placed himself in Hotham's mercy. At that time Hotham was almost persuaded to surrender Hull to the King.

"Averse to absolute monarchy, as also to absolute democracy or aristocracy, all which governments they esteemed tyranny, and were in love with a sort of monarchy which they used to praise by the name of mixed monarchy. They were such as having been members of this Parliament, had declared against ship-money and other extra Parliamentary taxes as much as any, but when they saw the Parliament grow higher in their demands than they thought they would have done, went on to the King's party."

We may admit that these declarations had none of the spirit of Hobbes' rigid logic. But Hyde did not show any ignorance of the nation's instincts when he felt that logic would not guide their ultimate settlement of the dispute. Long before he entered the lists of written controversy with Hobbes, Hyde was, in fact, combating his doctrines of polity.

Perhaps the most important, and also the most lengthy, of these declarations by Parliament, were those of May 19th and May 26th, to each of which Hyde, in the name of the King, made an elaborate reply. It was an age when lengthy sermons, elaborate disquisitions, and cumbrous arguments were acceptable to the taste of the day; and these declarations and counter declarations were studied by the people with a diligence, and produced an effect, which may seem astonishing to our own day, when the limits of popular patience would probably not extend beyond a few cursory paragraphs, if indeed it were not content to judge grave constitutional questions upon the basis of a few phrases culled from platform speeches. Our grandfathers took their politics more seriously, and the provender supplied to them was perhaps not inferior to the facile aids of journalistic comment in our own day. Serious argument is now embodied in Blue Books; but the State papers on each side in the days preceding the Civil War were read by the people

whom they concerned. The same could scarcely be said of the modern Blue Book.

The new declarations of Parliament certainly do not sink to the level of the Remonstrance, either in substance or in form. But they reiterate, with a perseverance that becomes tiresome, the hypocritical distinction between the King and his "evil counsellors;" they pretend to find the agency of these counsellors even in the most personal acts of the King, and they draw the usual subtle distinction between his personal position and his titular authority. Their arguments in effect assume that the only authority to be recognized in the Crown is that which is carried on with the assent, and, if need be, under the sole management of the majority in the House of Commons, even if the King personally has no part in it. They renew once more their protestation of respect for his person and his place in the realm; but that respect is made not only to be compatible with resistance to his will, but to be a compelling force in requiring them to resist that will. Those who, at his summons, assist him with their counsel, or are ready to aid him with their arms, are said to be traitors to his cause, and to be levying war against his person, because that cause and that person can be conceived only as embodied in Parliament and expressed by its decrees.

All this had not a little affinity with the religious doctrines which were prevalent, and with the wiredrawn arguments by which they constantly found those doctrines upheld in nonconformist pulpits. But there is, fortunately, in human nature a rooted prejudice against arguments based on an abstract theory which has no relation to facts. That prejudice is apt to find in such arguments something akin to insincerity and affectation. Their fears of an overstrained prerogative might be fully justified. Their desire for new guarantees for Parliamentary liberty might be reasonable.

They might have sound reasons for distrusting some of those who were in the confidence of the King. Looking at the dispute in the light of subsequent developments, we can discern clearly that a new theory of the Constitution was emerging, towards which the action of the Parliament was making definite progress, for good or ill. But somehow human nature has a distaste for arguments that are purely artificial, that attempt to present revolution under the false guise of a strict adherence to precedent, or that dress-up resistance in a fanciful guise of profound loyalty. We prefer revolution that recognizes and announces itself for what it is; and we grow weary of being told that we must discern in the attitude of the dominant majority some underlying principle quite different from what its words express. We would be more content to read a direct attack upon the King, and a more plain, because a more sincere, identification of him with those actions for which he was in fact responsible, and for which those who assailed them did, in their hearts, recognize his responsibility.

It was this inherent inconsistency between the reality and the pretence, which gave Hyde an effective opportunity of reply. He did not attempt to defend an unlimited prerogative, which he had himself resisted, and to which he was sincerely opposed. He found the Parliament guilty of precisely those errors which, in his opinion, had endangered the Constitution in the days of Strafford. In their present action he found a proof of—

"The method of God's justice . . . that the same principles and the same application of those principles, should be used to the wresting all sovereign power from the Crown, which the Crown had a little before made use of for the extending its authority and power beyond its bounds to the prejudice of the just rights of the subject. A supposed necessity was then thought ground enough to create a power,

and a bare averment of that necessity to beget a practice, to impose what tax they thought convenient upon the subject, by writs of ship-money never before known; and a supposed necessity now, and a bare averment of that necessity, is as confidently, and more fatally, concluded a good ground to exclude the Crown from the use of any power by an ordinance never before heard of." [1]

Hyde's aim was a Constitutional monarchy; but it was a Constitutional monarchy to be shaped upon strictly conservative lines.

In their claims for the Crown, therefore, Hyde's declarations were moderate enough to incur the criticisms to which we have already referred. But that moderation was not without its weight and its advantage. It secured for the Royalist cause a favourable hearing. It dispelled from men's minds those fears of monarchical tyranny which the Parliamentary majority had sedulously cultivated. As a fact, it did secure for the King a body of support entirely unexpected by his opponents, and extremely disconcerting to their aims.

And it does not follow that because Hyde's scheme for a settlement was moderate, his statement was tame, or his appeal to passion ineffectual. On the contrary, he enlists on his side every device of rhetoric to make the Parliamentary position odious, and to make its glaring inconsistencies apparent. Ridicule, sarcasm, invective, apt illustration—all are marshalled against them. A parallel for them is found in the Thirty Tyrants of Athens. The insincerity of their pretence of loyalty is exposed. The subterfuge which cloaks the evident responsibility of the King under attacks upon his "evil counsellors" is unmasked. The ignorance which mistranslates the Latin words of the Coronation oath is satirized at the same time that the absurdity of that

[1] *Rebellion*, v. 154.

interpretation is made evident.[1] The unbridled language used by individual members in Parliament is dragged into the light, and contrasted with the empty phrases of apparent loyalty in their conjoint addresses. His majesty "doubts not all his good subjects did now plainly discern, through the mask and vizard of their hypocrisy, what their design was." Those references to the black satin suit and white boots in which Mr. Jermyn had escaped, which Parliament had not felt it beneath their dignity to adduce as grounds for their alarm of plots, as proving the haste and secrecy of his flight, are not spared a contemptuous and sarcastic notice. Their concern for the King's safety, their assumed fear that he was coerced by the little band of his own guard, are contrasted with their connivance with those disorderly crowds that attacked Whitehall, insulted his adherents in the streets, and threatened to pull down the Abbey.

If Hyde was moderate in his constitutional aims, and studiously left room for compromise between the rights of the King and of his subjects, he was by no means timid in the language with which he ridiculed the assumptions, and laid bare the insincerity of the Parliamentary disputants. Not unnaturally they felt that this war of words did not redound to their credit. Finally, on June 2nd, they despatched to the King the nineteen propositions, which embodied their demands. Even before the reply was sent to their declaration of May 26th, the tenor of these propositions was known, and a reference is therein made to them. In connection with the

[1] The Parliament chose to translate the word "elegerit," in the Coronation oath prescribed by an Act of the reign of Henry IV., "shall chose," instead of "hath chosen." Their ignorance of the use of the subjunctive mood was like to have more serious consequences than usually attend grammatical errors. It involved the strange proposition that the King was not only bound to maintain the existing laws, but was unable to refuse assent to any law which the Commons might pass hereafter. However much usage may have altered, the lapse of nearly three centuries has not made the serious breach in the Constitution which that would have entailed.

reply to the nineteen propositions there arose one of those rare differences of opinion that occurred in the warm friendship of Hyde and Falkland. Hyde had his hands full of other work when the propositions were received, and he perhaps felt that for the moment he had exhausted the fountain of his argumentative invective. Colepepper and Falkland undertook the drafting of a reply, and they were not likely to pay special attention to ecclesiastical rights and privileges. In that part of the paper which Colepepper drew up, he spoke of the King, the Lords, and the Commons as the three estates of Parliament. To this Hyde objected as admitting a dangerous and unconstitutional principle. The three estates were properly the Lords Temporal, the Lords Spiritual, and the Commons, the King being the head and sovereign of the whole. Falkland had overlooked the error, and handed the paper to Hyde to be printed without change. Unwilling to alter the work of his friends, Hyde advised the King that no further reply was necessary, and suppressed the paper. Falkland, when he learned the fact, resented it with some warmth, and accused Hyde of having "disliked it because he had not writ it himself." Hyde's only reply was "that he had never expected so unkind a reproach from him," and immediately sent the paper to the printer. The slight jar was soon smoothed over and produced no change in their friendship. Falkland, although not so keen a supporter of ecclesiastical privileges as Hyde, yet admitted the mistake into which he had been led by Colepepper. The paper was printed as it stood.

Some of the demands, the King admitted, "were to be approved by every honest man; others were specious and popular; some had been already granted." But they were "cunningly mixed and twisted with other things of their main design." He could not accept them without infringement of the law, and without stripping himself of "those

flowers of his crown" which he had inherited from his ancestors, and which were necessary for the welfare and security of his subjects. The suggestion that he should bargain these away for a safe, and even increased revenue, he rejects with contemptuous disdain.

CHAPTER VII

THE FIRST CAMPAIGN OF THE CIVIL WAR

But a short space was now left for either side to make preparations for that war which by this time all recognized as inevitable. In London the Parliament was raising money, was issuing orders for the levying of troops, was reviewing the trained bands, and had already designated Essex as leader of the army. The adherents of the King were resorting in large numbers to York, and there Hyde was soon joined by his fellow-counsellors, Falkland and Colepepper.

He gives us some glimpses of his life at this time, which help us to realize its difficulties and its shifts. We have seen the stratagem he employed to get beyond the reach of the Parliamentary leaders, and the devious roads by which, under the guidance of Chillingworth, he had reached the neighbourhood of York. When the King summoned him to his presence, a house was prepared for his use. Hyde found it convenient enough; but when he was retiring to rest, his servant came to tell him that he wished he would lodge elsewhere; the house was good enough, but the people of the house were the worst he had ever seen, and he was confident, would do his master some mischief. It appeared that when his household first arrived they were received with all attention by the master and mistress of the house, and desired to call for all they wanted. It was only when Hyde's name became known that the aspect of matters changed.

"What, Hyde of the House of Commons?" exclaimed the good lady, with a shriek; "he should not lodge in her house." Her husband, when he learned the hated name, was equally open-mouthed in his denunciations, and swore that he would sooner set his house on fire than entertain such a guest within its walls. It was in vain to urge that Hyde had never been in York till that day, that he could not possibly have done harm to a man whom he had never seen. The anger and the imprecations were as stormy as ever, and when Hyde himself, upon learning what had happened, asked to see his hosts, the only answer returned was that they were gone to bed. There was nothing for it but that Hyde should go to bed himself, hoping that in the morning, when they were in their sober senses, he would be able to appease their unreasonable fury. Things were no calmer in the morning, and it presently appeared that the man had real grounds for his dislike. He had been an attorney in the Court of the North, and Hyde was chief of the pestilent reformers who had assailed that Court and destroyed his means of livelihood; it was he who had been Chairman of the Committee, and who had carried to the Peers the resolutions upon which the Court had been dissolved. Hyde had philosophy enough to confess that his unwilling host had better reason to be angry with him than others had, who were as angry and persecuted him more. It was just as well that he should be reminded, in entering on his new duties, that there were penalties to be paid for reforming zeal, even when its ardour was abated. He felt bound to spare the dispossessed attorney the irksomeness of his presence, and presently found lodgings with a prebendary of the Minster.

It was for other delinquencies than that alleged against him by his outraged host that Hyde's more formidable enemies sought revenge. The Parliamentary leaders desired his presence in Parliament because they knew methods of

dealing drastically with those in their midst who showed themselves refractory. The summons to him to return to his place in the House was at first couched in civil terms enough. Commissioners were still passing between Westminster and the Court. A group of these Commissioners, now in York, learned that Hyde "was walking in the garden with the King." They presently sought him there, and with all show of courtesy, let him see their instructions from the House, which told them to command the immediate attendance of any member whom they might find at York; and "so they desired he would excuse them for doing their duty." Hyde's reply to a message in which the threat was only thinly hidden by the veil of politeness, was probably just what they expected. "He had come in obedience to his Majesty's commands, and knew not yet what service he was to do; when his Majesty gave him leave he would return."

He had another meeting about the same time with one whom he had known long, and towards whom he had no cordial feelings. The Earl of Holland [1] had now come as

[1] Henry Rich was the second son of Lord Rich and Penelope Devereux, the daughter of the first Earl of Essex, and sister of the favourite of Elizabeth. Her marriage to Rich (who was subsequently created Earl of Warwick, and whose eldest son became Parliamentary Lord Admiral) was an unhappy one, and she did not allow strict scruples as to the marriage bond to regulate her conduct. After a long intimacy with Sir Philip Sydney, who addressed her as Stella, she became the mistress of Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire, and by him (to whom she was subsequently married) she had, besides other children, an illegitimate son, created Earl of Newport, and appointed Governor of the Tower, an office in which the brutal levity of his character found congenial work, of which we have a sample in his avowed resolution to have Strafford murdered in the Tower if the King should exercise his prerogative of mercy. The marriage of this divorced mother of an unsavoury progeny was the religious ceremony which Laud was persuaded to perform in his earlier days, and which was the subject of his life-long repentance. The young Henry Rich ingratiated himself with James by acts which won him no honour amongst men of any scruple as to conduct, and his good looks and persistent insinuation won for him vast grants and lucrative offices, especially that of Justice in Eyre, when he exercised his opportunities of extortion to the discredit of the Crown. He was created Earl of Holland, and by Royal favour obtained a wealthy wife, through whom he became Lord of the Manor of Kensington. He did not, for all his social arts, escape the imputation of cowardice, and his wavering

an emissary from the Parliament to propose terms to his master. He, who owed all the honour and all the wealth he now enjoyed to the King and his father, had neglected the attendance which was his duty as Groom of the Stole; and was now in the confidence of the enemies of the Court. As Hyde was riding to Beverley, he encountered him on the road, and those greetings prescribed by strict courtesy passed between them. Holland hoped he would be "welcome to all honest men at Court, because he came to invite the King to return to his Parliament and to abolish all jealousies between them." "He would be welcome indeed," said Hyde, "if he brought proper expedients to produce either of these ends; but his errand must be of another composition than the King understood it to be." Their conversation became heated, and Hyde lost his usual "guard upon himself." The canting hypocrisy of such a man was little to his taste, and Hyde sought no further intercourse with him. Holland failed to win him by pliant courtesies; and his threats were still more ineffectual. Hyde was not surprised to learn that, after Holland's return, a vote was passed excluding Hyde from pardon in any accommodation that might be made. The newly begotten intimacy between the King and their escaped colleague became a favourite theme with the Parliamentary journalists. One day Hyde was accosted by the King, amidst a crowd of courtiers, with the strange inquiry, "Ned Hyde, when did you play with my band-strings last?" Hyde was naturally put out of countenance by the merriment that followed, until the King reassured him. "Be not troubled at it, for I have worn no band-strings these twenty years." He was then shown the Parliamentary "diurnal," in which it was duly

allegiance to each party in turn, increased the aversion which that imputation caused. Few men owed more to the Royal favour, or repaid it worse, and his reputation was only partially retrieved by his death on the scaffold, in 1649.

chronicled that Ned Hyde was so familiar with the King that he used to play with his band-strings.[1]

Holland found little favour at the Court. The natural resentment of the King at his gross ingratitude was shown in an avoidance of all personal intercourse, and in a coldness of manner which was visible to all. His repulse was decisive, and he had to carry back a message in which his elder brother, the Earl of Warwick, was denounced as a traitor.

Already, like the sparks preceding a great conflagration, skirmishes had broken out in different parts of the country. Men's passions were now so roused as to make them eager to have recourse to the arbitrament of the sword. In spite of all his efforts to keep up a show of courage, Hyde found the spirits of those around him often depressed. He records a conversation with Sir Edmund Verney, the Knight Marshal, one of the few whose unselfish chivalry sustained him in the midst of doubts. Verney congratulated Hyde upon his vivacity and cheerfulness amidst the general depression. Hyde answered that "he was beholden to his constitution, which did not incline him to despair." But though he thought as ill of affairs as most men did, he felt it to be his duty to make a show of courage, if only to dissipate the dejection of others. Verney's reply was a sad one. He would do the best he could, but he would "act it very scurvily." Hyde, he said, had the satisfaction that his conscience told him that he was in the right. For himself, Verney did not like the quarrel. But "he had eaten the King's bread, and served him near thirty years," and would not desert him now. His loyalty rested upon a foundation of gratitude rather than of reason. Within two months Verney had lost his life for the King at Edgehill. If others had been like him, says Hyde, that battle never would have been fought. The simpler guides of fidelity are not only the easiest for a

[1] *Life*, i. 157.

man to obey; perhaps they help the public weal as much as the sophistries of political argument.

Hyde, during this brief and ominous interval, had heavy work upon his hands. It was he who chiefly arranged for collecting funds, and he had already been finding out from the colleges at Oxford what offerings they could make in money or in plate for the Royalist cause. It was no small task, now that the fabric of government had collapsed, to keep up a semblance of respect for constitutional forms, and to furnish what was essential not only to maintain the dignity associated with the Crown, but to provide for the equipment of a military force.[1] That task fell upon him even before he formally assumed the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Besides this, he had to draft the endless replies and declarations which were called for, not only in negotiations with Parliament, but in correspondence with various parts of the country. Even in its diminished splendour, the Court retained, in full measure, its complement of greedy suitors, and of jealous aspirants; and all these had to be kept in a fair measure of good temper. At times Hyde seems to have had his share in work which was scarcely so official. Papers were printed which purported to report verbatim

[1] We are apt to overlook the degree to which that age was accustomed to consider lavish display and very profuse expenditure as things inseparable from the Royal State. The revenue of the nation was so small in comparison with modern standards, that we not unnaturally think of the Royal household as managed on similarly narrow lines. This was not the case. If we examine the national accounts, we find that the only item which does not fall notably below present-day standards is the Civil List; and when we allow for the difference in the value of money, this points to a large expenditure in the maintenance of Royalty. The Court was surrounded by a crowd of retainers, each drawing on its revenue, and open table was kept. Professor Gardiner's summary of revenue for several years, between 1610 and 1635, shows that of a total varying from £442,000 to £636,000 (in round figures), considerably more than one-third went to the Court. The change from this to something near to destitution imposed a heavy burden on those charged with management of finance. See Gardiner, x. 222.

the speeches delivered in Parliament. If they were more imaginative than true, this did not render them the less useful in conveying a desired impression to the public; and Hyde did not disdain to lend a hand in concocting such mirrors of Parliament. He tells us how,[1] on one occasion, he imitated so accurately the style of the Lords Pembroke and Brooke, that the first of the two lords was ready to accept the speech as his own, and the second was indignant to find that his fellow-peers were ready to aver that they had heard him say just what was attributed to him, which he as strongly disavowed. Pembroke, too, helped Falkland to win a bet from the King, who avowed that he knew Hyde's peculiar style so well, that he could tell anything that he had written amongst a multitude of writings by other men; and was ready to lay an angel that he could not be deceived. Falkland some days later brought him the journal with the Parliamentary speeches. The King was surprised that Pembroke "could speak so long together;" but the words were surely his, for no one else could have uttered them. Falkland whispered that he claimed his angel, and the bet was promptly paid. Hyde had written the speech.

In order to keep in touch with the Midlands and the West, it was decided that the King should move to Nottingham, which was appointed as a rendezvous for his adherents. Already there were dissensions on the point, and it seemed to some unwise to quit the neighbourhood of Hull, and to go further from Newcastle, which was the port most securely held for the King. As usual the very men who urged the change were those who doubted its expediency when made. Hyde wisely thought it a case of objections, which "at the entrance of great actions, cannot be too much deliberated, though, in the execution, they shall best be shut out."

[1] *Life*, i. 161.

The words are typical of Hyde's character. Alas! too often the Royalist counsels were conducted on a principle exactly the reverse!

It was in melancholy mood that Charles and his adherents moved to the rendezvous. On the way he attempted to seize Coventry, but met with a repulse. A body of his horse, under Wilmot,[1] made a somewhat discreditable retreat from an inferior force. At Nottingham there was no great conflux of supporters. Scarcely a regiment was yet levied and organized, and no supply of arms and ammunition was in readiness. "On the evening of a very stormy and tempestuous day"—August 25th[2]—the standard was erected, and the prevailing sadness detected ill-omens in many circumstances. By an untoward accident the hurricane blew the standard down, and it could not be fixed again for some days.

If honest doubts like those of Verney, anxious hearts in those who could gauge the lack of preparation, counsels perplexed by disloyal jealousies, and nerves ready to conjure up presages of ill, were not enough to dishearten the King's party, worse news soon reached them. To a long series of treacheries and deceits, Goring,[3] now added the disgrace

[1] Afterwards Earl of Rochester.

[2] Other accounts indicate the 22nd.

[3] The two Gorings, father and son, are amongst the most notable figures in a period when notabilities were abundant. George Goring, the elder, was born about 1583, and early in life became attached to the Court, and was cherished there for his *bonhomie* and wit, and as an efficient deviser of sports and entertainments. But he had a shrewd sense of worldly advancement, and amassed large wealth by grants of lucrative monopolies. He became Lord Goring in 1628, and, having benefited largely by Court patronage, he did not, like others, lose the sense of gratitude. He spent freely of his fortune in aid of the Royal cause, and was a devoted adherent of the Queen in her efforts to procure equipment for the Royalist Army. In 1644 he was created Earl of Norwich, and was a notable figure in the second Civil War, when he was the chief organizer of the Royalist adherents in Kent and Essex. He surrendered to Waller after the siege of Colchester, and was more fortunate than his fellows in escaping (by the casting vote of the Speaker Lenthal) the death penalty. He was in exile with Charles II., and returned at the Restoration—towards which he gave effective help.

of the surrender of Portsmouth which he had finally pledged himself to hold for the King, and which he now abandoned to Waller, whether by deliberate treachery or by a neglect of that provision of defence for which he had procured the necessary means from King and Parliament at once. Disaster added to dejection boded ill for the Royalist cause. Things were going ill, too, with the Marquis of Hertford in

He became a member of the Privy Council, and died in 1663. He was cherished as a boon companion, and a good-natured wit; but left no reputation for capacity or effective power.

His son, Colonel George Goring, was a much more remarkable power; but while he vied with his father as a *bon vivant*, he had a reputation for far greater capacity, unfortunately united with a total absence of fidelity to any cause. He had many qualities that might have given him a high place amongst his contemporaries. He was conspicuously brave, and had earned an unquestioned reputation for valour in war abroad. He bore the honourable mark of military service in permanent lameness, having been severely wounded at the siege of Breda; but that, so far from marring his appearance, "only made him the more comely and prevailing," and enhanced a carriage "winning and graceful in all its motions." "He had a civility which shed itself all over his countenance, and gathered all the eyes and applications in view; his courage was notorious and confessed; his wit equal to the best and in the most universal conceptions; and his language and expression natural, sharp, and flowing, adorned with a wonderful seeming modesty, and with such a constant and perpetual sprightfulness and pleasantness of humour, that no man had reason to be ashamed of being disposed to love him, or, indeed, of being deceived by him." This, the fullest of Hyde's many portraits of Goring, is given in the MSS. of Clarendon's *Life*, as a continuation of the reference to Goring in Book V. of the *History of the Rebellion*, p. 439. See vol. vi. of the *History* (edit. 1849), p. 364, Appendix 2, M. But, withal, Goring was a consummate actor, and was no sooner detected in the basest deception than he was, with scarcely an interval, admitted into the confidence of those whom he had betrayed. The open profligacy of his life did not alienate even the strictest puritans, to whom his seeming lack of hypocrisy served as a guarantee of an open nature. He had been a participator in the Army Plot, which the King refused to countenance, but made his peace with the Parliament by betraying his associates, and accusing them of designs to which they had been no parties. He promised to hold Portsmouth for the Queen, and at the same time professed, in his place in the House, his fidelity to Parliament. He obtained money for its defence both from Parliament and from the Queen, and then neglected to make it safe; and, after throwing off the mask, and declaring for the King, he surrendered it to Sir William Waller at the very opening of the war. Again he returned to the Royalist cause, and won some conspicuous military successes. But even his consummate military skill did not compensate for his inveterate deception, his lack of discipline, and the licentious turbulence of his life. He died (before his father) in 1657, an exile in Spain, and in straits for means of support. It is a story of brilliant parts marred by unbounded roguery.

Somersetshire; and the few officers of vigour,[1] who gathered small bands together by their personal influence, found no headquarters to which they might resort. Fortunately for the King the Parliamentary forces were not prepared to use the opportunity and advance against him at Nottingham, where, by a prompt attack, an overwhelming victory could easily have been obtained by any fairly equipped force under competent leading. Essex did not leave London to take command till September 7th; and the inferior officers were afraid in his absence to take the initiative. It may even be that some of the leaders shrank at this early stage, from a direct attack upon the King, and from a victory which in the present situation might have been something of an embarrassment. But the position was sufficiently critical to suggest to some amongst the counsellors of the King that it was expedient to make overtures for peace. It was with the utmost difficulty that the King was brought even to discuss the proposal. There can be little doubt that the Queen, who was now busy in gathering supplies, and enlisting aid abroad, was urging that course of unyielding resistance, to which the spirit she had inherited from her father disposed her, and of which she could not measure either the danger or the difficulty. To suggestions from that source Charles rarely turned a deaf ear.

The Council sat long into the night discussing the problem of offering proposals for a compromise; and although the King's assent was at last wrung from him, the indignity involved moved him so strongly that "he brake out into tears."[2] The next day the message was ready—once more the work of Hyde—but "in a softer and calmer tone than

[1] One of the earliest of these to move was Sir Ralph Hopton, who had now shaken the dust of the Parliament off his shoes, and begun that long service which shines conspicuous for its unsullied and unselfish loyalty.

[2] The whole scene is fully described in the *History of the Rebellion* (edit. 1849), vol. vi. Appendix, p. 382.

his Majesty had been accustomed to for some months;"[1] and Southampton and Colepepper set out on their journey to London, as the bearers of overtures from the King.

Charles continued in deep depression and "cared not to be entertained with any discourse, which he did not usually avoid." It was to Hyde that he turned to express his real feeling. He drew him apart, and observing that he looked sad—unlike his wont—he told him "he had been drawn to do that which must make all men sad who had any love and kindness for him." Had but one of his Council[2] adhered to him, he would never have consented to make this address. He had almost called Hyde to his aid, but forbore, in order not to involve him in ill-will by opposing the others. The message itself pleased him more than the sending it, "because he had used no mean and base expressions of condescension to them;" but he was resolved, treaty or no treaty, never to consent to anything "that might be to the prejudice of any of his friends who adhered." One wonders whether the ghost of Strafford haunted the King, that he made these unasked-for protestations. By the vote of Parliament Hyde was already exempted from any possibility of amnesty, and he knew well that the authority of a defeated King was powerless to protect him against their vengeance. Can Strafford's dying words, "Put not your trust in Princes," have found an echo in the secret places of his heart?

Hyde's[3] reply was not probably intended to have any

[1] It is given in the *History of the Rebellion*, vi. 11.

[2] We must remember that Hyde was not yet formally of the Council. But it does not appear that he would have given different advice from the rest.

[3] In Hyde's own graphic description of this scene there occurs one of those passages that now and then startle us in reading the personal history of the day, and bring us sharply up against the barrier that occasionally erects itself between their natures and ours. We admire their courtly dignity, their elaborate courtesy, their deep-rooted pride, and we have often to acknowledge their lofty ideal of character and their high sense of public duty. Suddenly we find ourselves checked by a phrase of formal and specious artificiality, by a revolting callousness, by a condoning of

sarcastic implication, but it is difficult to avoid feeling that in his heart there was some touch of irony. He at once accepts his Majesty's declaration, not as a statement of policy, but as an apology to himself. "He assured his Majesty that the message and his sending to Parliament did not in the least disturb him." If a treaty followed, his Majesty would be bound by that, and could not cover his concession by anything that he might conceive it to imply. "The interest of all particular persons must be subjected to public convenience and peace; for which he protested he was himself very cheerfully prepared, and expected as sour a portion as would be assigned to any man in England." On the whole, he thought the message would do good. And once again, Hyde knew how to administer good counsel without offence.

"He concluded with an earnest desire to his Majesty, that he would compose his own countenance, and abolish that infectious sadness in his own looks which made the greatest impression upon men, and made them think that he found his condition more desperate than any one else believed it to be. The King was very pleased with the discourse, and told him he was a very good comforter."

Hyde was a past master in the reading of character. Perhaps it was well that the conversation had no auditor with a sarcastic turn, who might have probed the royal sophistries.

Southampton and Colepepper were received with scant courtesy, and the overtures for accommodation came to

conduct that with us would banish a man from decent society. Once or twice—and this is one of the occasions—Hyde shows a strange callousness. In the course of the conversation, he told the King that he was not conscious of the trouble in his look of which he had spoken; but it might be there, "*for he had that very morning received news of the death of a son of his which did affect him though it would not disturb him long.*" One wonders, did the struggles and dissensions of the counsellors weigh so much in the father's heart, that the real sorrow was paralyzed and dumb? Or was Hyde merely adopting the mannerism of artificial courtesy? They spoke in other language, and dressed their feelings in other guise, than ours.

nothing; nor did a further conciliatory message sent by Falkland have any better effect. The Parliament only renewed its defiant tone, and demanded as a preliminary to all treating for accommodation, that the King's standard should be taken down, his declaration recalled, the instructions to the Commissioners of Array countermanded, and that he himself should return to London, place himself in the hands of his Parliament, and be guided solely by their advice.

By such a message, of course, Parliament openly proclaimed that their object was no longer redress of grievances, or the restoration of that balance in the constitution which they believed necessary as a security for liberty; it was not even a proposal of revolutionary change, which was to alter fundamentally the government of England; their claim was now for a personal tyranny centred in the hands of a small and indissoluble group of men. Aspirations that had taken that shape, were of all others the least likely to permit of any accommodation, until a lesson of adversity had been learned. But Hyde plainly indicates that either in his own view, or in that of others who were well-wishers, the suggestion that the King should return to London, and appear in the Parliament House, was not to be lightly laid aside. The hopes of his cause, says Hyde, were so desperate "that he was privately advised by those whom he trusted as much as any, and those whose affections were as entire to him as any men's, to give all other thoughts over."[1] If Hyde really points at himself as agreeing in this advice, it must have been because he hoped that the King's return would produce a revulsion of feeling, and enhearten those who were willing, if only they had dared, to declare against the excesses of Parliament. It would at best, however, have been a hazardous risk; and perhaps Hyde

[1] *Rebellion*, vi. 15.

means to give a hint of doubtfulness when he adds, "It must be solely imputed to his Majesty's own magnanimity that he took not that course."

But although it led to no direct result, the King's professed inclination to an accommodation was not without advantage. It necessarily led to differences in the Parliamentary camp, and these differences produced vacillation and delay. Their forces, at first so much in excess of those of the King, were not concentrated in any one plan, and were still without vigorous leading. On the other hand, the King's adherents gained new courage, as they found the work of the Commissions of Array prosper, and result in the rapid levying of troops. It was with an ever-increasing attendance that the King moved, by Derby and Stafford, to Shrewsbury, which he purposed to make his headquarters. It was to Hyde that the duty had been entrusted of making sure that the town was so well disposed as to be ready to admit the King. This he arranged through personal friends of his own, and it was with new courage and confidence that the Royalists found that they constituted a goodly martial array to confront the enemies of their King. "All men were even wishing for the Earl of Essex, and all fears were vanished." [1] The King's army soon mustered 6000 foot, 3000 horse, and 2000 dragoneers.[2] Nor were there wanting other circumstances of good omen. The discipline and order of the army were admirable, and the relations with the country people most cordial. Free loans and contributions poured in abundantly, and the pay was regular. Unfortunately Hyde was soon obliged to tell another story.

Prince Rupert, the nephew of the King, then a youth of two-and-twenty who had already shown military talents,

[1] *History of Rebellion* (edit. 1849), Appendix, vol. vi. p. 387.

[2] The dragoneers were a sort of mounted infantry, armed with sword and gun, and were so called from the dragon's head on their carbines.

PRINCE RUPERT.

(From the original by Sir Anthony Vandyke.)

and was soon to be recognized as one of the most dashing cavalry leaders on either side, although his impetuous temper and impatience of control were destined to inflict as much evil upon the Royalist cause as his undoubted courage helped it, had recently joined the King. He was now sent forward to meet Essex, and it was with the advanced guard of the Parliamentary forces that the Royalists under Rupert had the first encounter of the war. The Prince's impetuous leading won the day ; and the honour of the first victory lay with him.

It was now decided not to attack Essex at Worcester, where the country was ill fitted for the cavalry manœuvres, in which the Royalists chiefly hoped for success, but to advance on London through the more open grass country of Northamptonshire and Warwickshire. There was little doubt but that Essex, as soon as he heard of the movement, would place himself across their march, and the opportunity that they desired, of a trial of strength, would then be offered.

The King's general was the Earl of Lindsey, a man well seasoned in the foreign wars, who, although he had all the roughness and the easy licence of a soldier of fortune, was of unimpeached honour, of sterling loyalty, and added to great military skill, the dignity and influence of high descent, and a fortune, impaired indeed by the freedom of his life, but still ample. Such a man, had his life been spared, would have been a tower of strength to the King. He had as little sympathy with the selfish trickery which marked many of the courtiers, as he had with the sanctimonious manner and the nonconformist enthusiasm of their foes. His was a type which found little place amidst either the self-seeking luxury of the Court cliques, or the perfervid zealots of the other camp. Even in the brief period granted him to display his loyalty he found his authority as general flouted by the reckless and fatal arrogance of Prince Rupert, whom the

King's indulgence freed from all the bonds of discipline. Under him, Sir Nicholas Byron, Colonels Fielding and Wentworth, and Sir Jacob Astley commanded the regiments of foot. Prince Rupert, with General Ruthen as nominal adviser, commanded the horse; and the dragoons or mounted infantry were led by Sir Arthur Aston. Full of courage and good heart as they were, they were far inferior to the force under Essex in numbers, and still more conspicuously so in arms and equipments. But there was one body, the King's troop of guards, under Lord Bernard Stewart, brother to the Duke of Richmond, which was in itself a match for any regiment which the Parliament could raise. It consisted entirely of "persons of honour and quality," equipped at their own expense, fighting for all that was dear to them, trained from their boyhood to arms, and pledged to maintain their honour by every motive that could appeal to their feelings of ambition or of shame. With them there followed another troop consisting of their squires and attendants, under Sir William Killigrew—vying with their masters in equipment and in zeal.

The King advanced by rapid marches by Bridgenorth, Wolverhampton, Birmingham, and Kenilworth to the borders of Northamptonshire and Warwickshire. Essex had set out two days later from Worcester, and for some days the armies marched in almost parallel columns at a distance of about twenty miles, and ignorant, it would appear, of their proximity. On October 22nd, the King reached Edgecot, on the Northamptonshire border; and while there he received reports from Prince Rupert, whose scouts had discovered that Essex, with his army, was only seven miles off, at Keinton in Warwickshire. Here it was resolved on the next morning,[1] to show fight.

The work of Hyde, as servant of the King, with a

[1] Sunday, October 23rd.

preponderating influence throughout the long struggle which was to ensue, did not lie, in any degree whatever, in the battlefield. His knowledge of military affairs was small, and he never attempts to pass judgment on matters of strategy or warlike tactics, other than that which a civilian may without presumption form, after weighing the verdict of competent military authority. In his biography, therefore, a full or detailed record of the battles of the Civil War, or of the later campaigns in Scotland, and in Ireland, can find no place. It was his only to shape the policy and adapt it to the varying fortunes of the war. In two years and a half from this date, he passed to a distance even from the scenes of war, and spent the later years of the contest elsewhere than in England.

But the battle of Edgehill, which took place on that clear calm day of late October, merits some special attention. In the forces engaged, in the spirit with which they undertook the fight, and in the fatal lack of discipline and generalship, by which the full fruit of what might have been a decisive victory, was thrown away, we can gather much both of the strength and of the weakness of the Royal cause, and of the immature and unwieldy forces behind the Parliament, which time and discipline were required to hammer into shape. Within these few hours each party showed much of the stuff of which it was made.

Even during the march, symptoms of dissension and jealousy had appeared. Soon after, we have to mark the dangerous rift between the civilian courtiers and the military commanders of the Crown. But now, even within the military ranks, that discipline which was so imperiously necessary was shaken by the mutinous spirit of independence of which Prince Rupert gave the chief example. Relying upon the King's natural affection, this novice obtained an exemption from all orders but those of the King, and flouted

the commands of the military veterans to whose hands the King had committed the fortunes of his troops.

Those theatrical displays of personal courage, which have thrown a certain halo about his memory, were in reality but a form of ambitious selfishness, the very negation of the military instinct, and worthy to be dealt with only, but for his favoured rank and untoward influence, by the summary methods of the drumhead court-martial.

The details of the fight have been given in countless military histories of the war. On the Saturday afternoon, the King had reached Edgecot, in Northamptonshire, four miles from Banbury; and late that night he received news from Prince Rupert that the enemy's headquarters were at Keinton, on the borders of Warwickshire. The King then appointed Edgehill—a height some two miles from Keinton—as the rendezvous. On the Sunday morning, Essex saw that the hill was occupied; and without waiting for two regiments of foot, and one of horse, that were a day's march in the rear, he deployed his army into an open campaign ground that lay between Keinton and Edgehill. The Royalist forces (some of them eight miles away) were hurried on, as it was determined to attack that day; but it was not till one o'clock that the advance could be made, and the battle did not begin till three—with but little left of the short light of a late October afternoon. It was doubtful whether so late an attack was wise; but the Royalists were in unfriendly country, and knew that next day would see a large increase in the enemy's forces. In some hurry and confusion, Prince Rupert began the charge, and the cavalry, carrying all before them, recklessly continued the pursuit, leaving the King defenceless. Fortunately the remaining part of the Parliamentary force did not snatch the opportunity, and although a Royalist victory was thrown away, it was not turned into a reverse. Both armies kept the field during the night,

but retired the next morning. The King was able to seize Banbury; and this gave him some fair ground for claiming the honour of victory.

The battle of Edgehill has a place in Hyde's biography which cannot be claimed for the other incidents of the war, not only because it gives us so clear a picture of the material difficulties with which political management had to deal, but also because he was himself actually present at the fight. When the Prince's message, announcing the presence of Essex's army, was brought to the King at Edgecot, Hyde, with Colepepper and Falkland, was at Culworth, about a mile distant from the King. He at once went off to join the King, and was with him when the King's horse were making their slow descent from Edgehill into the plain below. There, it appears, he remained until the fortune of the day seemed doubtful, and the Earl of Lindsey had fallen, fatally wounded. The Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, boys of twelve and nine years of age, were close by under the guard of the Pensioners, and the King ordered them and their guard, with Hyde, to withdraw towards the hill. As evening fell, they saw a troop of horse, which was taken for part of the King's forces, approaching, and advanced towards them. They were really the Parliamentary horse under Sir William Balfour; but the mistake was discovered just in time, and the Princes were sent back to Edgecot, by the orders of the King. Had they been seized, the event would have been an untoward blow for the hopes of the King. Falkland had been with Wilmot's troop during the afternoon, and urgently pressed that they should attack Balfour. But Wilmot preferred a cautious inaction, and by his supineness Balfour was able to get off in safety. The King was pressed to retire towards the west, and to leave the foot and cannon at the mercy of the enemy; but Colepepper, who was soldier as well as statesman, and had borne himself well during the

day with Rupert's horse, vehemently protested, and his protest was approved by the King, who refused to quit the field during the whole of a cold and frosty night. Next morning, with daylight, it was proposed to renew the charge; but the numbers were too small, and the men and horses too much spent, to make further efforts. Fortunately the enemy were equally unwilling to begin the fight again.

It had been carefully planned that, before the fight began, a proclamation should be made, by herald, of a free pardon for all who would lay down their arms; and it was hoped that this would cause heavy defection from the Parliamentary force. In the hurry of the first charge this carefully planned design was foiled, and Sir William Le Neve, the herald, was made prisoner before the proclamation could be read. The Parliamentary officers were in no mood to pay attention to the cumbrous rules of heraldry, and Le Neve's expostulations were in vain. His proclamation was snatched from him, and he was asked whether the King and Prince were in the field. Essex asked the question because he fancied the King was not there, and because the army had been made to believe that they were to fight, not against the King himself, but against the band of malignants who kept the King from Parliament. Finally, Le Neve was blindfolded, conducted to the outposts of the army, and there dismissed.

Each side drew off and the fight was not renewed.[1] But if each could claim a partial victory, the King had at least shown that he knew how to fight in person along with his supporters. That courage, which many of his acts might make us doubt, and which was to grow in strength and in dignity with new trials, had begun to show itself.

But even the credit of this doubtful victory had been dearly bought by the Royalists. Lord Lindsey, the rough but loyal commander whose last hours had been embittered

[1] See *History of Rebellion*, vol. vi. App. 391.

by learning the rash orders that freed the Prince from the rules of discipline, was carried off the field, a prisoner and mortally wounded, and died in a few hours. Verney's forebodings were fulfilled, and his perplexities ended by his death. Lord Auvigny, the brother of the Duke of Richmond, "of a very clear courage and a gentle and winning disposition," fell in the first charge; a fate which was soon to befall two of his brothers. On the other hand, of five thousand who fell on the field it was computed that two-thirds belonged to the Parliamentary army, and one-third to that of the King.

The result of the battle might be doubtful, but it was enough to spread dire terror in the Parliament and in London. It seemed as if the army of Essex was broken up and dispersed. Many had marched out in the confident hope that the mere show of their power would scatter the few adherents of the King, and that the war would be ended without a fight. The idle rumour had spread that the King was not with them, or that if he were there it was only as a prisoner carried about against his will. Now it was seen that the King was leading, in person, a formidable army of that part of his subjects who were best trained in war. For the first time the courage of the new-levied Parliamentary soldiers was tried by the grim realities of war; no wonder that at the first shock the nerves of the citizen soldiers gave way. The news was first brought by the fugitives, many of whom reached St. Albans, thirty miles away, before dark, never having drawn bridle since they quitted the field. All, they reported, was lost, and the King's army was advancing in irresistible force. The Earl of Essex had fallen, and in his dying words had bidden each man shift for himself.

Doubts were soon thrown upon these frenzied reports of terrified fugitives. On Monday afternoon, Lord Holland

read in Parliament a report from Lord Essex, admitting the first impression made by the King's troops, but averring that "the conclusion was prosperous." Lord Hastings, however, entered the House soon after "with frighted and ghastly looks, and positively declared all to be lost against whatsoever they believed or flattered themselves with." For eight and forty hours they were the victims of varying reports; until, with a promptitude that was at once pious and businesslike, they put an end to doubts by passing a resolution "that their army had the victory," and proved it beyond gainsaying by appointing a day for a solemn thanksgiving.

But in spite of a victory so incontestably determined by the happy expedient of a Parliamentary vote, the prevailing desire to make overtures for an accommodation could not be resisted. The King had, from the battlefield, after leaving a garrison at Banbury, repaired to his own royal manor of Woodstock, and from thence to Oxford, where he had been received with exuberant loyalty, and where the breaches in his army were soon repaired. In an ill-moment, as Hyde thought, a resolution was taken to push the royal army closer to the metropolis, and the King marched to Reading, where he threatened London at a distance of only thirty miles. It was a temptation to further advances which in the opinion of some of the King's counsellors involved grave danger to his cause.

We have already seen the rapid growth of jealousy in the King's army, and the lack of discipline to which it gave rise. Prince Rupert had plenty of imitators who were ready to vie with him in presumption, and in whose view the constitution was to be settled by the arbitrament of the sword, and the spoils of victory were to fall to those by whose hand that sword was wielded. Flushed with his easy triumph, Prince Rupert had neither the experience

to understand, the good sense to learn, nor was he in the mood to be advised, as to the real conditions of the struggle. It seemed to him that the only course to be followed by the King was to advance in triumph on the capital. The mutinous bands of revolted citizens were to be forced upon their knees. And at the centre of Government, his victorious soldiers were to dictate to the nation the terms on which they would be permitted to return to their allegiance, and take any modicum of liberty permitted by the gracious bounty of those who had taught them their duty.

That was the danger which Hyde, and those who thought with him, rightly feared. It has been represented [1] that Hyde's hesitation about the advance arose from his secret fear that Charles would no longer accept the position of a constitutional King, but would have attempted, in the hour of triumph, to undo all that had been done. Such an hypothesis would convict the King of little else than madness, and Hyde of a deliberate breach of loyalty to his master. No sane man could have dreamed that any such doubtful victory as had been won would induce the Parliamentary leaders to assent to the annulment of all the work of reform that had been accomplished; nor is there any evidence to support the view either that Charles thought of it, or that Hyde suspected him of such a thought. But Hyde had seen enough to make him dread the unbridled recklessness of many whose words carried weight with the army. He knew the arrogance of their pretensions, and the grasping selfishness of their aims. Already he felt that they were growing jealous of the counsellors, and anxious to undermine their credit with the King. An advance to London, followed by success, however temporary, would

[1] This is the view which approves itself to the orthodox Whiggism of Mr. Lister, who represents Hyde as deliberately acting so as to thwart what he understood to be the wish and intention of the King.

have placed the capital at their mercy ; and habits of plunder and of free booty are soon learned by an army, and not easily forgotten. One such success, followed by the inevitable revenge and reprisals, would have made a settlement impossible, and might have crushed the monarchy for ever. It was in the express interests of his master, and to avoid the pressure of a military faction that might become as insolent to the Crown as to the people, that Hyde desired to avoid these dangers ; not because he fancied that a success might help Charles to realize a vain dream of establishing an undisputed absolutism in England.

What Hyde dreaded was exactly what came to pass. The overtures were made and accepted. The King spoke of returning to Windsor, and there carrying on negotiations with Commissioners from Parliament ; and there seemed every prospect that the preliminaries would be arranged. But by a fatal error, over-persuaded by the youthful impetuosity of Prince Rupert, Charles allowed his troops to advance so near to the capital as Brentford, where a sharp encounter took place with the Parliamentary troops. They had advanced too close to the hive, and the bees burst out with an irritation that made their sting the more dangerous. The nerves of the new soldiers had once been shaken ; but the lesson had taught them steadiness. The triumph of the cavaliers might be pushed too far. The troops of the Parliament began to see that the Royalists were not invincible, and grew tired of renewed overtures for peace. In vain did the King try—as he had been forced to try before—to find excuses for his error. The attack on Brentford had been made in what was in reality, if it was not technically, an armistice, during which the preliminaries for a conference were to be discussed. An explanation was necessary ; and explanations, however meritorious, are apt to bear a suspicious resemblance to the submissiveness of apology.

The closeness of the danger had stimulated the contributions of the Parliament's supporters; its repulse had aroused new courage; and Parliament resolved to try once more the hazard of war, before they involved themselves in the possible meshes of a conference. The Royalist troops were drawn off to Reading; and a declaration was issued by the King to soothe the susceptibilities that had been aroused. Hyde disliked the whole business, and there is perhaps a little mischievous intention in his careful statement that the declaration was one of the few which other occupations rendered him unable to undertake, and that its author was Falkland. It certainly does not stand on the same level, either in cogency of argument, or dignity of style, as those for which Hyde was responsible.

The seeming chance of peace was gone; but it was in no downcast mood that the Royalists fixed their winter quarters at Oxford, towards the close of November. There, in the chosen home of loyalty, surrounded by devoted adherents, and amidst scenes that were congenial at once in themselves and in their associations, the King and his immediate advisers settled down for what were to be the last few months of peace that were to brighten that career round which the shadows were fast gathering. The comfort, and even the dignity, of some kingly state were not absent. Over a large portion of the nation his authority was submitted to without question; and the ardour of loyalty was never stronger amongst his devoted supporters. With foreign states he still maintained the high terms of sovereign authority, and his right to grant honours and dignities was not seriously disputed.

Within the stately precincts of St. John's, the Court had no unseemly lodgings in those quadrangles which had been reared by the loving care of the faithful Archbishop, who in the lonely and weary hours of his imprisonment,

must have sadly pictured to himself that Court in which he had once been a moving spirit, haunting those cloisters and gardens that he loved so well. Within an easy ride, the King had his own vast forest and ancient palace of Woodstock, amidst those scenes which the imagination of Scott has filled with so vivid a picture of the time. Hyde found a home at All Souls', where his old friend, Dr. Sheldon, was Warden, and where he was surrounded with friends that must have recalled to him the happy days spent at Tew and Burford, under Falkland's hospitable roof. In Christ Church, the King himself was housed, and in Wolsey's splendid Hall, a remnant of the Parliament was yet to assemble and give their counsel to their King. When the Queen returned, it was at Merton that she found lodgings not unfitting for the state of her Court. For these months, had they been able to forget the grim menace of the certain renewal of Civil War, and had they not been harassed by the unceasing anxiety of insufficient preparation, Hyde and his companions might have found in their surroundings, both of scene and of society, much to cheer them in the winter's suspense.

CHAPTER VIII

HYDE IN THE COURT AT OXFORD

The Court and the Royalist army settled at Oxford in November, 1642, for their winter quarters, after the battle of Edgehill. Marlborough was soon after captured by Wilmot, and the Royalist influence was materially strengthened in the Midlands and the west, while in the north Newcastle had considerable success; but between York and Oxford the Parliamentary forces held a strong position. Meanwhile some changes in the personal aspect of the Court, which count for much in the biography of Hyde, were proceeding. By an untoward accident, a letter from Charles to the Queen (then preparing to return to England with a supply of arms and money) was intercepted and published by the Parliament. It contained some awkward revelations. The King spoke freely on the irksomeness of his position from the constant importunity of those around him for honours, office, and preferments. He named the applicants, and sought the Queen's advice in regard to the selection, promising that until he received that advice he would make no appointments, with the exception of a few which were urgently required. He thought of making the honest and trusty Nicholas Master of the Wards, from his present post of Secretary of State; and then, he went on to say, "I must make Ned Hyde Secretary of State, for the truth is, I can trust no one else." The publication of such a letter did not add to the dignity of the royal resolution, and it

was not likely to conciliate for Hyde the favour of disappointed applicants.

It was from the King himself that Hyde first learned the existence of this letter; and the King proposed to make amends for it by nominating him at once as Secretary of State. To this Hyde was strongly opposed; he had no mind to oust Nicholas—to whom the new office proposed for him was likely to be of little profit in the present circumstances, when wards were likely to pay little heed to royal dispositions—and he felt himself unqualified for the post by his ignorance of foreign languages, and by being entirely unversed in foreign affairs. The King made light of his objections, and bade him consult Nicholas upon the subject. Nicholas was at first well pleased with the proposal; but Hyde took pains to show him that it was not for his advantage, and assured him that he had no mind to profit at Nicholas's expense.[1] Just at this time, the office of Master of the Rolls fell vacant by the death of Sir Charles Cæsar, and this gave the King the chance of promoting Colepepper to that post, and appointing Hyde Chancellor of the Exchequer in his place. This course was strongly urged by Falkland, who desired to see his old friend and associate a member of the Council officially, as he already was, in fact. This new proposal Hyde was not unwilling to entertain. Another hitch in the arrangements now arose. Colepepper had hoped to retain both offices, and was in no mind to resign the Chancellorship. It was only the warm expostulations of Falkland and Digby, supported by the King, that compelled Colepepper to make way, and the circumstance aggravated that jealousy between him and Hyde, of which the difference between their views and temperaments had already laid

[1] Hyde's record of their interview shows how cordial were their terms. On Hyde's arrival Nicholas greeted him as his son. "It was not," said Hyde, "the part of a good son to undo his father, or to become his son that he might undo him" (*Life*, i. 169).

the foundations. Colepepper saw with regret that Hyde's influence at the Council was likely to be at least as potent as his own. It was not till February that Hyde was at last sworn in as Privy Councillor, and a week later he was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer. At the same time, he was knighted, and hereafter we must know him as Sir Edward Hyde. The King told him, with much grace, "which was not natural in him upon such occasions," [1] how content he was in his new minister, and added, "that he was very fortunate, because he verily believed that nobody was angry at his preferment." Hyde himself knew better. "He had great enviers, of many who thought he had run too fast." [2] The leaders of the aristocracy were inclined to think that such posts belonged to their class of right. Those of his own profession were jealous that a young man of thirty-three, who had shown no great love of their society, and no ardent devotion to the practice of the law, should have obtained a preferment for which they thought themselves fully qualified. Above all, the appointment had the unusual character of being made neither by the interposition nor by the privity of the Queen; and that lady was apt to think that those who rose without her aid would not be equally at her disposal. Hyde adds, with some bitterness, that the perferment "was not the more unwelcome to him from that circumstance." In title and appearance the post was a great one for a man so young to have attained. But it was likely to bring with it more of burden in care and responsibility than either of credit or emolument. He was envied for obtaining that which only duty and conscience forced him to accept. The difficulties to which he felt himself exposed could not find better expression than in the

[1] *Life*, i. 171. Hyde's narrative loses nothing by such casual words of portraiture, deftly introduced.

[2] *Life*, i. 171.

words, evidently extorted from him by the memory of many bitter jealousies—

"It were to be wished," he says,[1] "that persons of the greatest birth, honour, and fortune, would take that care of themselves by education, industry, literature, and a love of virtue, to surpass all other men in knowledge and in all other qualifications necessary for great actions, as far as they do in quality and titles, that princes, out of them, might always choose men fit for all employments, and high trusts, which would exceedingly advance their service, when the reputation and respect of the person carries somewhat with it that facilitates the business. And it cannot easily be expressed, nor comprehended by any who have not felt the weight and burden of the envy, which naturally attends upon those promotions, which seem to be *per saltum*, how great straits and difficulties such ministers are forced to wrestle with and by which the charges, with which they are entrusted, must proportionally suffer, let the integrity and wisdom of the men be what it can be supposed to be. Neither is the patience, temper, and dexterity, to carry a man through those straits, easily attained: it being very hard, in the morning of preferment, to keep an even temper of mind, between the care to preserve the dignity of the place committed to him (without which he shall expose himself to a thousand unchaste attempts, and dishonour the judgment that promoted him, by appearing too vile for such a trust) and the caution that his nature be not really exalted to an overweening pride and folly, upon the privilege of the place; which will expose him to much more contempt than the former, and therefore is, with a more exact guard upon a man's self, to be avoided, the errors of gentleness and civility being much more easily reformed, as well as endured, than the other of arrogance and ostentation."

Hyde adds something more, which was clearly the fruit of his own bitter experience. A man's best protection, he says, in such a position is "an expectation of those gusts

[1] *Rebellion*, vii. 282.

and storms of rumour, detraction, and envy; and a resolution not to be over-sensible of all calumnies, unkindness, or injustice." "There is not," he adds, "a more troublesome passion, or that often draws more inconveniences with it, than that which proceeds from the indignation of being unjustly calumniated, and from the pride of an upright conscience." It was a passion from which Hyde, in his time, was to suffer much.

Henceforward, not merely as unacknowledged and confidential adviser, but as a minister of the King, Sir Edward Hyde was to guide the counsels of the Royalist party. Others were to conduct the military operations, to organize the army, to decide what positions should be defended, and what strategic combinations might be attempted. On him was to rest the chief burden of devising schemes for obtaining supplies, of directing policy according to the shifting currents of popular opinion, and of countering and parrying the thrusts of Parliamentary argument, and steering his way in the thorny paths of occasional negotiation. Before we turn to these, it will be convenient here, with the help of his own graphic word portraits, to glance at the character and personality of the men who, by virtue of high birth and rank, held the foremost place in the Court of the King, and in the ranks of his enemies, and to learn something of the motives which determined their choice of sides.

Amongst those who gathered about the King there were few who united to high social position, or to marked natural ability, a long experience in public business. Of two of the group of counsellors, Falkland and Colepepper, we have already seen a good deal, and shall yet see more. Colepepper owed his rise to ambition and long years of labour; and Falkland, although he stood high by birth and fortune, did not count amongst the outstanding members of the

aristocracy in rank and wealth. Littleton, who was still Lord Keeper, had preserved his fidelity in spite of some suspicions; but his powers were never brilliant, and they were now depressed both by age and by the untoward circumstances of the time. He, even more than Colepepper, was the dependant, rather than the rival, of the great nobles, whose power and influence might be enhanced by, but was by no means based upon, any favours of the Crown. It is these great nobles who pass across the pages of Clarendon's History, in the lineaments of life.

First in rank, as directly descended from the King's own house, stood the Duke of Richmond and Lennox. Nature had fitted him admirably for the part he had to play; and from his earliest youth, he had enjoyed ample opportunities for acquiring the graces of the courtier, and learning, amongst the grandees of Spain, and France and Italy, all the accomplishments that gave the distinction common to each of these varying groups. When scarcely more than a boy, he had become a member of the Privy Council, and his marriage to the daughter of the great Duke of Buckingham not only enlarged his ample heritage, but ensured him the close friendship of the King. He was of no mood to dream of party, or to trouble himself with the political dissensions of the day. For him the rights of the people did not exist. His high place, and his personal pride, bound him to the rules of honour, and in that code, loyalty to the Crown stood in the highest place. Between him and the popular party there could be no terms. He was born to despise them; and to them he was the very type of all that they were eager to destroy. His loyalty was no matter of policy or expediency, nor was he fitted to direct the counsels of the Crown in a hazardous time. With his three brothers, all of whom lost their lives in the service of their King, it was not a matter of choice, but unquestioning

religion, to devote themselves and their fortunes to his cause.

With regard to the Marquis of Hertford, the guardian to the Prince of Wales, we have already seen how little his past history, or his own tastes, had inclined him to become the active supporter of the King. He had long lived, if not estranged from, at least independent of, the Court. A scholar who loved his ease, he found himself better suited for the position of a great territorial magnate than of a participant in the favours of the Crown. But for him, as for the Duke of Richmond, there could be no terms of alliance with the popular party. No favourer of Strafford, he had nevertheless held aloof from the measures taken against him. His influence and his wealth were at the King's disposal; and it was no calculation, but the promptings of instinctive sympathy, that made him throw himself with ardour unto the levying of troops, and the organization of military preparations, for the Royalist cause.

The Earl of Southampton had in temperament some similarity with Hertford. Disdaining some of the conventional trappings of high birth and position, his pride made him eschew the society of the Court. He never had any conversation with it, nor owned any obligation to its favour. A tinge of melancholy in his nature made him inclined to solitude. His well-known aversion to the Court, and his opposition to Strafford, gave some hopes of an alliance between him and the Parliamentary leaders; but his quick intelligence, and his power as a debater, gave him an influence which deep-rooted aversion to popular changes soon made him throw into the support of the Royalist party. He sought eagerly for an accommodation which might stay the progress of revolution; but it was rather from dislike of the new designs than from any purpose of mediating between King and Parliament, that he threw himself into these plans.

Mutual respect, and a similarity of aim, made him, now as in later years, the warm friend and associate of Hyde.

Another, and a very different type of man, was the Earl of Leicester. A soldier in his early manhood, and afterwards Ambassador to France and Denmark, he had not managed to acquire much practical aptitude for business. His abilities were considerable, but they were those of a bookish man and a mathematician, and he "expected a greater certitude in the consultation of business, than the business of this world is capable of." In this verdict, Hyde indicates his own attitude as a practical statesman, versed in the ways of men. After the execution of Strafford, Leicester was appointed Lieutenant of Ireland; but in the unhappy affairs of that kingdom he played but little part. A man of honour and fidelity to the King, Hyde believed that "his greatest misfortunes proceeded from the staggering and irresolution in his nature."

The outstanding abilities, and long experience of the Earl of Bristol, have already been recorded. With no attachment to the Court, he had at first taken a leading place in the Parliamentary party, but quickly found himself at variance with their designs, and was one of the earliest, on getting out of their clutches, to join the King at York, and was present at Edgehill. He was of the Council at Oxford, but his long estrangement from the Court, and his confidence in his own abilities and consequent impatience of contradiction, detracted from his weight. His lengthy discourses and his passionate temper lessened his esteem; and the restless and ambitious volatility of his son, Lord Digby, led to an estrangement between father and son, which had the effect of still more impairing the respect which Bristol's age, experience, and talents, as well as his unselfish loyalty, would justly have commanded.

In the north, the cause of the Royalists was upheld by

the Earl of Newcastle,[1] whose lofty courtesy and boundless generosity, endowed with ample resources in his great estate, were well fitted to attract support and conciliate the hearts of those who joined his standard. But he was fitful and wayward, and had defects that weighed down his better qualities. He was without any pretence to military skill or knowledge. The pomp and circumstance of war were what attracted him; but his defects in this respect were fairly supplied by his lieutenant, General King, a shrewd and experienced Scottish veteran. Unfortunately even King's patience was often tried by the capricious moods of the Earl, who had in no small degree the fanciful preciosity of the preceding generation. He was "amorous of poetry," and often when action was needed Hyde tells us how he "retired to his delightful company, music, or his softer pleasures, to all which he was so indulgent, and to his ease, that he would not be interrupted upon what occasion whatever." We can imagine with what temper the old Scotch soldier would receive such fopperies, and how irksome they must have been amid the hazards of the time. But, as not rarely falls out, the very affectation which proved the self-indulgent aristocrat, playing the soldier, did not prevent him from feeling an exaggerated contempt for the slow processes of the Council Chamber. His belated foppery, however, was never allowed to lessen the honour or the devotion of his chivalrous loyalty, until the impetuous arrogance of Prince Rupert broke his hopes and made him quit the kingdom in despair.

There were men to whom birth and high station, rather

[1] William Cavendish had inherited large estates from a grandfather who had been enriched by the spoils of the monasteries. He himself received much favour as a courtier: was created Viscount Mansfield in 1620; Earl of Newcastle in 1628; Marquis in 1643, and eventually Duke in 1665. He was tutor to the Prince of Wales for two years after 1638. His graces are somewhat fulsomely described in the *Life* written by the Duchess, whose account sets forth most amply her own and her husband's virtues.

than their influence or abilities, gave some prominence. The Earl of Berkshire had been captured by the troops of the Parliament, and imprisoned until his liberty was granted on the rather contemptuous ground, that he was "a man who could do them no harm anywhere;" and to whom the fact of that imprisonment secured some merit when he repaired to Oxford. "His affection for the Crown was good; his interest and reputation less than anything but his understanding." Lord Dunsmore was another who owed any esteem rather to accident than to character. He was "of a rough and tempestuous nature," lacking judgment and temper. But as father-in-law to the Earl of Southampton, he had a borrowed lustre from his name.

There were others towards whom Hyde felt a repugnance which came very near to bitter hatred. Lord Savile had earned rewards from the Court, which seemed out of all proportion to his merits, "of an ambitious and restless nature . . . In his disposition and inclination so false that he never could be believed or depended upon." His dominating motive, from the first, had been malice against Strafford, and under the influence of that passion he had entered into close relations with the Scots—relations which were in themselves enough to secure to him the hostility of Hyde. By a forged letter, purporting to come from some of the English nobility, he had invited the Scots into England; and it was only when he found his credit with the rebels less than he had hoped, that he again insinuated himself into the favour of the Queen, and with her help, secured ill-earned rewards from the King. He remained at Oxford, despised and shunned by all men of honour, and was, in time, detected for the time-serving traitor that he was.

No negligible part was played by honest Secretary Nicholas, whose plodding labours and unblemished integrity won him a credit to which no splendid abilities or lofty

ambition attached any jealousy in a circle only too prone to such a feeling. His virtue and fidelity were his only recommendation; and it was in the retrospect of long years of trusty friendship that Hyde recalls him as "in truth, throughout his whole life, a person of very good reputation and singular integrity." He was a good type of the well-tried official whose long experience opened to him the paths of statesmanship.

But the men of great birth, high rank, and vast possessions were not to be found amongst the Royalists alone. Amongst the Parliamentarian ranks, the foremost in splendour of estate was the Earl of Northumberland. He had been the recipient of countless favours from the Crown, and was chosen by Charles as Lord High Admiral of the greatest fleet that England had ever launched. No man of the age was more punctilious in demanding all the deference due to his great station. A tyrant in his own family, he earned rather by a specious show of wisdom than by any sound foundation of real ability, the reputation of a wise man. As a great aristocrat, he despised the common herd of men; but he forgot also the respect which was due from himself to his sovereign. Such ill-based pride as his was above all other moods that most amenable to the assaults of flattery; and his support of the popular cause arose from no sincere desire for political change, but from the petty and sadly mistaken fancy that prompted him to think that in that crowd his own supremacy would not be debated.

The Earl of Pembroke was the second of those brothers, to whom Shakespeare's notice has brought immortality. But he had more than his brother's prodigal excess, and much less than his skill in attracting popularity. His lavish extravagance, his vast possessions, his rather ostentatious patronage, won for him a certain appearance of influence, which he strove to increase by rather unctuous protestations

of his sympathy with the prevailing religious views—a sympathy which, from people of his stamp, seems always to have been accepted with but scanty discrimination. When Laud, from his prison house, resigned the Chancellorship of Oxford, those who favoured the Parliament had procured Pembroke's election in his place. When the Court once more gave to the University a period of freedom, he was excluded from the office, and Lord Herbert was elected in his place. The triumph of the popular cause made Pembroke once more the Chancellor of a University in thraldom to an intolerant and unsympathetic sectarianism. To such a man, the very type of the most arrogant pretensions of aristocracy, and of its most insolent display of luxury, the aims of the popular party had little likely to attract him. But when he discerned the current of anti-monarchical feeling, "his fear, which was the passion always predominant in him above all his choler and his rage, prevailed so far over him, that he gave himself up into the hands of Lord Say, to dispose of him as he thought fit." Henceforward he was a despised tool in the hands of abler masters. When a Militia Ordinance had to be executed, "they sent him into the country and showed him to the people, under the conduct of two or three members of the House, in whom they could confide." He talked as he was bid, and repeated the stock phrases about malignant and scandalous ministers. Hyde retained a lingering kindness for the poor wretch even in his fallen estate; and speaks, with no excess of contempt, of the guiding principle of his policy, as centred in the desire that he should still be master of Wilton and its treasures.

The Earl of Essex was a man of far other type; and Hyde at more than one critical juncture regretted the fatal errors on the part of the Court, that had brought about the alienation of such a statesman. No man had a higher sense of honour, no man abhorred rebellion more, and no

man more despised any crooked or tortuous course. His very absence of ambition made his pride the greater, and he was gradually drawn into a position alien to his nature and in direct opposition to all his interests, because he fancied that he could guide the course of events, and was attracted by the notion of giving a favour to, rather than receiving it from, those whom he accepted as his allies. Once embarked upon a certain course, Essex would change by no device of stratagem or treachery, but only upon sound reasons which could be published to the world. Over and over again the King's advisers, much to Hyde's disgust, allowed chances of gaining the support of Essex to slip by.

For Lord Salisbury, Hyde has a contempt which is only intensified by the glamour which his ancestors and their great achievements threw around him. The petty tyrant in his own domain and within his own sphere of influence, he was swayed in Council by every current of the prevailing humour. A sudden access of loyalty would be followed by the promptings of fear, and the craven desire of saving himself and preserving Hatfield. Under the strained administration of the Forest laws, he had suffered a heavy fine levied upon the vast estates granted to his predecessors; and that grudge he never allowed to go to sleep. His vacillation ended by unquestioning submission to the orders of the Parliamentary leaders, and he was at last one of the few members of that old and proud aristocracy who accepted the degradation of a seat in Cromwell's mock House of Lords.

The Earl of Warwick was Holland's elder brother, and partook with him of that descent of doubtful credit both on his father's and his mother's side which was a byword amongst the aristocratic scandals of the day. "He was a man of a pleasant companionable wit and conversation; of an universal jollity; and such a licence in his words, and in

his actions, that a man of less virtue could not be found." But, with their usual complacence, the dissenting ministers did not suffer their puritanism to bar against them the hospitable doors of one who "spent a good part of his estate, of which he was very prodigal, upon them, and by being present with them at their devotions, and making himself merry with them, and at them, which they dispensed with," so that "he became the head of their party, and got the style of a pious man." He played his cards well, turned his patriotic zeal to good account in repairing the breaches which his extravagance had made in his estate; and did not allow his aristocratic pride to refuse the daughter of Cromwell as a wife to his grandson and heir. He died before the tyranny which he had helped to place upon his country had fallen before the anger of the people whom he had misled.

It was partly due to Warwick's influence that a far better and more honest man was led to a course which brought him little comfort, and which he lived to repent. This was the Earl of Manchester. "Of a gentle and a generous nature;" one "who loved his country with too unskilful a tenderness; of so excellent a temper and disposition, that the barbarous times, and the rough parts he was forced to act in them, did not wipe out or much deface these marks"—Manchester was diverted into the popular alliance, partly by the neglect of the Court, partly by his marriage to Warwick's daughter, and partly "by the bewitching popularity, which flowed upon him with a wonderful torrent." To the fatal error by which his name, as Lord Kimbolton, was included amongst those at whom Charles aimed the misguided blow of that rash impeachment, which vexed the souls of Hyde and Falkland, must be ascribed the alienation of a possible adherent, who might have brought to the King the rare benefit of an honest, a straightforward,

and an unselfish loyalty, and who, as it was, not unnaturally suspected a prerogative from which he and his father had alike suffered wrong.

Lord Say was another of those whose birth and position would naturally have led them to belong to the party of the Court, but who, after some wavering, were found amongst the numbers of its enemies. It would not be fair always to accept the account of the conversion of such men from those who, like Hyde, considered them as false at once to their order and to their sovereign, and who must consequently find some more or less discreditable motive for their action. But the pen with which Hyde draws the portrait of Lord Say is charged with an unusual amount of gall; and he did not stand alone in thinking him capable of a treachery deeper even than that which passed current in an age when the standard of political fidelity was by no means high.

Lord Say attempted to fill the difficult position of a wit amongst the aristocrats, and an aristocrat amongst the wits. It is a *rôle* which rarely attracts regard, and very frequently forfeits even respect. Of old lineage, Say found it convenient to establish his claim to be of Founder's kin at New College, and therefore entitled to a fellowship on the foundation, by concocting for himself a pedigree so lengthy as to give rise to ridicule. His college connection led him to converse with books more than with men, and did not cure—perhaps it even increased—the natural pride and moroseness of his temper. On the one hand, "no man valued himself more upon his title;" on the other hand, "although his own parts were not quick, they were so much above those of his own rank, that he had always great credit and authority in Parliament." He had one quality, of which it may be feared that Hyde was not an impartial critic—"he had, with his milk, sucked in an implacable malice against the

Government of the Church." It would be unfair to condemn on such an arraignment; but no difference of opinion as to the verdict to be passed upon the crime of non-conformity can affect the contempt which Say earned by repeated tergiversation. His submissiveness earned for him the patronage of Buckingham, until it was lost by his pedantic self-sufficiency. He had sought for preferment at Court, with the sullen obstinacy of one who had lived in the contracted life of the college, and with the greed of a man whose means were not equal to his rank; and unsatisfied ambition was supposed to have given him the first suggestion of popular sympathies. But he had expected to rule where his new allies would permit him only to follow. His efforts to stay the torrent he had let loose were vain; and in the end he won only the contempt of both parties in the State.

Last of those who, under the strain of circumstance or the impulse of resentment, quitted the service of the Court for that of Parliament, was the elder Sir Henry Vane. With all the boisterous ambition of his son, he had neither his quickness of intellect nor his erratic and visionary promptings; but even with his slower and less cultivated faculties, he managed to make himself the centre of almost as many embroilments. Whatever charges can be brought against either father or son, they cannot be accused of assiduous courting of the great. With Buckingham, as with Strafford, Vane was in constant feud; and the turbulence of his nature made him, in the latter case, carry that feud to discreditable lengths, in the scene, already referred to, where his son produced, and he himself admitted as authentic, the doubtful and unsupported evidence of his own confidential papers. Deprived of the Court appointment which his energy and industry, rather than his talents, had won for him, he threw himself into the arms of the opposition. There he earned little credit. There was no more conspicuous

example of the influence of civil feuds in engendering bitterness of feeling between father and son, typified also by the cases of Bristol and Digby, and of the two Hothams, and easily accounted for by the many cross currents that prevailed in that stormy political vortex.

Such were some of the chief actors in this first scene of the Civil War, and during these winter months at Oxford that scene witnessed many rapid developments. On the whole, the prospects of the Royalist party quickly improved. Although the regular machinery for raising money had been broken up, and the wealth of the capital was tapped entirely by Parliament, the supplies for the King's army came in with a regularity surprising in the circumstances. The pay of his troops amounted to £3000 a week, and it was paid promptly enough. The levying of tonnage and poundage was continued by Parliament, although the legal authority for it had expired; and undoubtedly the King's proclamation demanding the payment of these dues had better legal foundation than the action of the Parliament. Still less show of legal ground was there for the further levying of a new tax in the shape of one-twentieth of each man's goods, assessed by officers nominated on Parliamentary authority alone, and enforced by penalties unknown hitherto to the law. Each side attempted to create an interest for itself abroad; and by a policy which Hyde stigmatizes as not only immoral, but strangely short-sighted, the monarchical powers of the Continent found an opportunity for diminishing the power of England, by encouraging the growth of the civil dissension, and by stimulating the Parliamentary opposition to the King. Petitions from different sections of the people of London, urging their grievances, poured in upon Parliament; they had now secured a Common Council entirely subservient to their interests, and in January, $164\frac{3}{2}$, they obtained from it a petition to the King, protesting their

own loyalty, and begging him to return to his capital, and there to consider, with his Parliament, the grievances under which they laboured. In reply the King assured them that he entertained no doubt of the loyalty of his city; but he besought them to consider what hope of personal safety he could entertain amid those who had thwarted his authority, and opposed him in arms; what benefit could accrue to the Protestant religion from persistent reviling of the doctrine and usages of the reformed Church; and what guarantee for legal action there was from those who without any precedent, extorted their property from the citizens in defiance of the law. His concurrence in any plan for the removal of real grievances was, he said, sufficiently attested by his previous concessions to the Parliamentary demands; and his only condition preliminary to an accommodation was an assurance that the forms of law would be respected. It was one of Hyde's most effective pronouncements. It was proposed to submit it to a "common hall," or assemblage of the citizens. But the experiment might have been a dangerous one; and the Parliament intervened to prevent it.

While declarations and addresses followed each other in brisk succession, it is difficult to say with which party the success chiefly lay during those winter months. If Sir William Waller seized Chichester, and discomfited the hope of the Royalists in Sussex, the success of Prince Rupert in capturing Cirencester raised the King's influence in the west; while in Devonshire and Cornwall, Sir Bevil Grenvil, the most honoured gentleman of those parts, and Sir Ralph Hopton—that chivalrous soldier, whose unblemished honour survived through all these troublous times, without taint or suspicion—made spirited advances, and at length inflicted a notable defeat upon the Parliamentary forces at Bradock Down. In many parts of the country, where hopes were still entertained that the fury of civil war would soon be

appeased, there was a disposition to remain quiescent and await events; and Hyde gives it as his firm conviction that this general belief of the short duration of the war was, more than anything else, the cause of its long continuance. Each party saw only a small portion of the general scene; and confidence in the accessions of power which they received, made them believe that they had only to show a little patience, and that their foes would be compelled to yield.

It was in February that the Queen landed at Bridlington Quay, in Yorkshire, bringing with her a good supply of arms and ammunition, which strengthened the King's cause in these parts. In the Midlands the balance of success lay with the Parliamentary forces; and although Lord Herbert made a spirited effort about Worcestershire and the Welsh borders, Sir William Waller, whose vigour in the early part of the war won for him the title of William the Conqueror, more than balanced his influence by a sweeping movement in which some of the strongest fortified places fell into his hands. Beyond all their successes in the field, the Parliament had at their hand a still more advantageous opportunity of discrediting the cause of the King, by representing that the long-drawn-out rebellion in Ireland was due to his secret sympathy with Roman Catholic rebels there, and that plots were afoot for drawing them over to assist in the subjugation of England.

The King had some time before made proposals for a cessation of arms, preliminary to a treaty of accommodation, and he now pressed the Parliament for a reply. This gave new influence to that party in Parliament that were not inclined to push matters to extremity, and in the beginning of March their proposals for an armistice were submitted to the King. But it gave no indication of the sincerity of those proposals that, at the very time, they imposed upon London and the rest of the country an assessment of the

unprecedented amount of forty-three thousand five hundred pounds a week, or two million two hundred and sixty thousand in the year. Such was the remedy propounded by Parliament for the intolerable taxation endured under Royal prerogative! At the same time, as if to accentuate their determination that no cessation of arms should imply any diminution in their demands, they were pressing for the King's assent to the complete extirpation of episcopacy, and their demand was backed by a deputation which reached Oxford from the Scottish General Assembly, in order to urge upon the kingdom the adoption for both countries of the Presbyterian model, as the only means whereby the insidious onslaughts of Papacy might be averted. It did not render the presumption of this address the less intolerable, nor its insinuations the less dangerous, that it was accompanied by a specious pretence of unswerving loyalty to his person, and an earnest desire to increase his prosperity and the dignity of his crown. The mediation was declined, in words of which the dignified courtesy and tone of studied moderation scantily concealed the sarcastic treatment which such arrogance deserved.

The Commissioners to treat for the cessation arrived at Oxford early in March. Amongst them was Whitelocke, the early friend of Hyde, and between the two some intercourse, on something like the old terms, was renewed. The negotiations for a cessation of hostilities, and about the terms on which peace might ultimately be secured, made little progress. The continued levying of taxes by Parliament, without any legal foundation, which was, in fact, an active preparation for war, was one of the chief ostensible causes for breaking off the negotiations, and the return of the Commissioners before the end of the month. But in truth there were other and very different negotiations on foot. At the head of the Commissioners was Northumberland,

and he had already reason enough to dread the evident consequences of complete Parliamentary success. It was represented to Hyde that the question of extirpating episcopacy was one on which the majority in Parliament might be disposed to come to some accommodation. The Militia question presented more difficulty; but even for that a temporary arrangement might be made. Above all, a personal question emerged; and on that Hyde was anxious that some conciliation should be shown. Northumberland was ready to accept the office of Lord High Admiral for the King. He was ready to make terms with the Court; and so far as his proud nature would admit, he showed himself disposed to accept with gratitude any favour from the King, and to repay the oblivion of his past errors by assisting to restore much at least of the royal authority. But Hyde found a strange reluctance on the part of the King to accept the advice which he urged with the freedom of true loyalty. Addresses were presented to the King from some who were his most trusted supporters, representing the ill consequence of any premature cessation, which would thwart their own efforts and hinder their preparations, while leaving the hands of the Parliament free. Hyde suspected the origin of these addresses; and found he was not mistaken in thinking that they were in fact suggested by the King himself, in order to support his own obstinate refusal of the terms. Hyde made bold to tell him that he had raised a spirit that he would not be able to conjure down; and the event proved that such advice once received was apt to breed a crop of self-appointed counsellors, whose discontent grew as their spontaneous, and often diverse, proposals were rejected. Charles urged, with a bitterness of animosity that was alien to his nature, that the ingratitude of Northumberland was too great to be condoned. Driven, in his embarrassment, to inconsistent arguments, he affected to

slight Northumberland's influence; and again he varied his position by offering to entertain the proposal at some future time. Behind the whole there was, as Hyde soon perceived, another and more potent influence. When the Queen had left England in the autumn, she had extorted a promise from the King that no appointment would be made without her knowledge and consent; and in words of studied respect, but at the same time of deep-rooted condemnation, he records his impression of their fatal influence upon his master.

"The King's affection," he says, "to the Queen was of a very extraordinary alloy; a composition of conscience, and love, and generosity, and gratitude, and all those noble affections which raise passion to the greatest height; insomuch as he saw with her eyes, and determined by her judgment; and did not only pay her this adoration, but desired that all men should know that he was swayed by her, which was not good for either of them. The Queen was a lady of great beauty, excellent wit and humour, and made him a just return of noblest affections; so that they were the true idea of conjugal affection, in the age in which they lived. When she was admitted to the knowledge and participation of the most secret affairs (from which she had been carefully restrained by the Duke of Buckingham, whilst he lived), she took delight in the examining and discussing them, and from thence in making judgment of them, in which her passions were always strong."

The promise he had made to her the King kept with fatal fidelity. "This promise (of which his Majesty was too religious an observer) was the cause of his rejection, or not entertaining, this last overture; and this was the reason he had that aversion to the cessation." The Queen was now in Yorkshire, and wrote strongly against the treaty. The King would gladly have prolonged it until she came to Oxford, when he hoped to change her views. But the fatal decision

was made, and a chance was lost which Hyde never ceased to think was the most favourable ever likely to occur. He had the less important satisfaction of finding his advice prevail in regard to the answer to the Scotch General Assembly. The King had desired to show his zeal for the Church by a reasoned reply—in which perhaps he showed that he inherited some of his father's taste for theological discussion. Falkland would have had the reply confined to a simple negative. Hyde gained the day for the reply that was actually sent, which rejected the overture as the act of egregious presumption that it was.

In the field some successes continued to attend the arms of the King; but they were marred by the growing dissensions between the army officers and the Council. The military party deemed that the hopes of the Crown lay only in their sword-arm, and in the boisterous courage of their troopers, who loved the freedom and excitement of the camp, and promised themselves ample reward when the work should be done. For them the niceties of legal discussion and constitutional principles had no attraction. They recked little of the difference between Bishop and Presbytery, and to them it was only a matter about which orthodox opinions had to be battered into the thick skulls of the Roundheads, who must be taught that reverence for the lawn sleeves was part of the religion of a gentleman. They were impatient of the chicanery of political arguments, and thought little of the pursuit of any fixed course of policy by a body of unwarlike statesmen, managing affairs from their safe retreat at Oxford. The time, they deemed, was past for the politician, and the fortunes of the nation were to be settled only on the stricken field.

Meanwhile the tides of victory and disaster swept backwards and forwards with bewildering variety. If the movements are puzzling to us, they were still more so to

those who attempted to follow the diverse reports that reached them from day to day from different parts of the country. If Newcastle had a passing triumph over Fairfax in the north, it was balanced by the nimble marches in which Waller swept westwards to Hereford. Prince Rupert continued his impetuous career, and earned a dearly bought victory in the capture of Bristol; but Essex made a victorious progress from the capital, with an army re-equipped and strengthened, and seizing on Reading, established a post in dangerous proximity to the King's quarters at Oxford. A symptom of ill-omen for the cause was the loudly uttered complaint that Reading had been surrendered by the treachery of Colonel Fielding. He demanded a court-martial, but, in spite of a good defence, he was convicted of treachery and sentenced to death. The sentence was remitted, and he lived to do good service to the King. But the affair started the pernicious seed of military dissension, and of cabals in the army which were yet to work still greater mischief. The natural result of these dissensions was that the frame of discipline was broken, and that the common soldiers imitated the licence and turbulence of their officers. The good relations with the people, amidst whom they were quartered, were no longer maintained. Instead of restraint and fair dealing, there arose riot and plunder; and the charges which had at first been brought against the hastily raised levies of the Parliament were now raised with even better reason against many bodies of the Royalists. In proportion as the discipline of the Parliamentary forces advanced, the standard of that prevailing amongst the King's troops was lowered. "In so much," to use the words of Hyde,[1] "as one side seemed to fight for Monarchy with the weapons of confusion, and the other to destroy the King and Government with all the principles and regularity of Monarchy."

[1] *Rebellion*, vii. 276.

These quarrels amongst the military commanders had appeared in a still more serious form in Bristol, where the uncurbed arrogance of Prince Rupert had led to serious disputes with the Marquis of Hertford, the most respected of the King's adherents, with whose complaints against the King's nephew the other members of the aristocratic party made common cause. So heated had these discussions become, and so evident was their danger to the cause, that the King resolved himself to repair to Bristol, in order to appease them. He took with him Hyde, Falkland, and Colepepper. The strife was allayed rather than settled; the King had not yet awakened from that fatal partiality to his nephew which was to work such dire mischief before the end.

At Bristol Hyde himself found reason to complain of an infringement of his own proper official functions. The chief advantage of the possession of Bristol was that it gave the King a hold upon the great trading centre of the west, and promised, in the customs and duties, a sure source of financial supply, which, if well managed, was of untold value. But Hyde found that his influence there was thwarted by a grant of authority from the King to Ashburnham [1]

[1] John Ashburnham, born in 1603, was connected through his mother with the great Duke of Buckingham, and so secured his patronage. In 1628, he became Groom of the Bed-chamber, and, as such, not only managed to enrich himself, but to earn the entire confidence of the King. He sat in the Long Parliament, but withdrew from it to attend the King, and was formally expelled. For a time he had to fly to Holland, but returned later, and was with the King at Hampton Court. The blunder by which he and Sir John Berkeley betrayed the presence of Charles in the Isle of Wight, to Colonel Hammond, the Governor, whom he fancied on no sufficient grounds to be well-affected, made him an object of suspicion, but he never lost the trust of the King. He suffered much under the Commonwealth, and was once more Groom of the Bed-chamber after the Restoration. He died in 1671. Hyde was never on cordial terms with him. He was a man of stately presence and graceful manners, and, so far as we can judge, of sincere loyalty. It has been his misfortune to have his memory defended, in a very foolish book, by "his lineal descendant," in 1830. His indiscretion in critical circumstances brought about disasters. But, except for his descendant's silly defence, no one would visit hardly such an error in a Groom of the Bed-chamber.

and Colepepper, to deal with the Bristol revenue. He found it necessary to expostulate with his colleagues, and to complain to the King; and the complaint was repeated with still more urgency by his friend Falkland, who made all Hyde's grievances his own. He received explanations and apologies; but personal satisfaction did not remove the source of a new mischief which sprang from such private applications too readily admitted by the King. Ashburnham's training at Court had taught him the habit of annexing perquisites.

As the currents of victory and defeat passed backwards and forwards, each side felt a new confidence in their own military strength, and they were the less disposed to listen to a compromise; and on both sides tempers were aroused by losses which they longed to avenge. Amidst the Cornish successes the King had lost, in an obscure skirmish at Chagford, a young adherent of singular promise, and the object of universal affection,—Sidney Godolphin[1]; and in the fight at Lansdown there had fallen the very soul of the Cornish Royalist contingent, Sir Bevil Grenvil; while his stout comrade, Sir Ralph Hopton, was for a time disabled by a wound. At Hopton Heath, by Stafford, the King's troops had won a victory, dearly bought by the loss of the Earl of Northampton, as signal in the unselfish devotion of his loyalty as he was conspicuous by his prowess in the field. He was a fine specimen of the magnate of the day, sharing fatigue with the common soldier, mixing in the thick of the fight, and he fell surrounded by the enemy, and disdaining the quarter which was freely offered him. The capture of Bristol had not been effected without heavy losses, that made it but a Pyrrhic victory. Not the least notable of these was the young Lord Grandison, a model of knightly chivalry, alike in courage and in

[1] See *ante*, p. 31. Godolphin had been one of the circle at Tew.

gentleness.[1] With such a spirit amongst them, and such a debt of vengeance to repay, the Royalists were little in the mood for peace.

In the city and amongst the adherents of Parliament, there were many who did not feel the same ardour for the war. They, too, had suffered heavy losses. In June, the gentlest, the most conciliatory, the most courteous, and the most unselfish of those who had opposed the King, had ridden, mortally wounded, from a skirmish at Chalgrave Field, and died within a week. In John Hampden, behind that mask of courtesy, there lay an intensity of purpose, and a subtle power of guiding other men, that made him a tower of strength to his party. He had left no legacy of a desire for compromise. Whatever had been his purposes at first, the charge of high treason, levelled against him, had made him the relentless enemy of the King. "Without question," says Hyde, "when he first drew his sword, he threw away the scabbard;" and he had consistently disapproved any overtures for an accommodation.

But there were others on that side—and they had no small support in the city—who thought that the time was come once more for proposing terms of peace. The House of Commons were stern enough; they refused to concur with the Lords in accepting overtures from the King; they levelled a charge of treason against the Queen for bringing in a supply of arms for those who were fighting against "The King and his Parliament;" and they threatened to deal with his emissaries as spies. But defections from their side proceeded apace.

[1] Of Grandison, whose birth and connections are described on p. 145, note, Hyde writes: "He was a young man of so virtuous a habit of mind, that no temptation or provocation could corrupt him; so great a love of justice and integrity, that the Court, or camp, could not show a more faultless person, or one to whose example young men might more reasonably conform themselves." The only charges brought against him were that as a youth he had been venturesome in duels, and that he was still "too prodigal of his person."

When the King and Queen were again in Oxford, some repentant perverts came with proffers of allegiance. These were Holland, who never remained long fixed to one set of principles; Bedford, the son of that Earl whose death in the previous year had removed the man in whom Hyde placed most hope for a fair compromise between the King and the aggressive part in the Parliament; and the Earl of Clare.[1] A still greater defection was, not without good reason, anticipated, and would have taken place had Essex, who had all but abandoned the Parliamentary party in disgust, not been persuaded to prolong his allegiance, and link his fortune still more closely with theirs. Even Northumberland had once more shown symptoms of wishing to release himself from the Parliamentary net.

About the reception of Lord Clare no difficulty arose. But when the King returned to Oxford he found his adherents there violently divided on the question of Bedford and Holland. Bedford had in person fought against the King, and of Holland's double-faced treachery there could be no doubt. The question of allowing them to come from Wallingford to Oxford was fiercely debated. For once Hyde found himself in agreement with the Queen, who, by the persuasion of Jermyn, had come to think that in Holland and Bedford she would find allies for her own party in the Court at Oxford. For different reasons Hyde thought that repentant opponents should be welcomed and encouraged. But most of the others were too indignant to have any dealings with the traitorous earls; and although it was decided, after long discussion, that they should be permitted to present themselves, and although they actually did betake

[1] John Hollis, eldest son of the first Earl of Clare, was born in 1595, and survived the Restoration, dying in 1666. He was the brother of the notable Parliamentary leader, Denzil Hollis, who made terms with the Royalists before the Restoration, was created Lord Hollis in 1661, and survived till 1680. Their sister was the wife of Strafford.

themselves to lodgings, one in Magdalen and the other in Balliol, they found themselves coldly received, treated with marked disdain, and finally were forced to quit the Court in disgust at the scorn of their overtures. Holland [1] was the first to go, and he was quickly followed by Bedford and Clare. Northumberland, who from his retreat at one of his own houses, had watched the issue of the negotiations, returned and made his peace with Parliament. Once more what Hyde thought a good opportunity for reviving the fortunes of the Royalists was recklessly thrown away.

The defections of the discontented Lords had left the extreme party in Parliament masters of the situation; and although for a short space the King's affairs seemed to march prosperously, the fixed determination of the Parliamentary leaders soon repaired their losses, and enabled Essex to start on a victorious campaign. The King's siege of Gloucester was raised: Essex seized on Cirencester; and the success of Prince Rupert at Cranborne Chase only stayed for a time the prosperous advance of Essex. It was at Newbury that the forces of the King met those of Essex on September 19th, and an undecided battle left the road free for Essex to return to London after a series of notable triumphs which completely restored the confidence of his party. Before winter set in each side were shaping for more decisive action.

The Battle of Newbury marked for Edward Hyde an epoch, not in the campaign only, but in his life. The losses there were notable; and we need not be unduly surprised that Hyde, after the fashion of his day, weighs lightly the chance of some obscure officer having fallen, or some citizen's wife having been put into mourning, on the Parliament side, as compared with those cavaliers of birth and fortune

[1] See *History of Rebellion*, vii. 247. Holland was ill received by the Parliament (*Ibid.*, 311).

who gave their lives for the King. The Earl of Sunderland [1] fell in his first campaign—a youth of twenty-three; and the Earl of Carnarvon,[2] who had redeemed a life of luxury and easy pleasure by devoted loyalty, which was in his case joined with a keen military instinct, untainted honour, and a promise of discernment in statesmanship which aristocratic idleness had concealed until adversity had wakened it.

But there was one, above all the others, in whose death Hyde "lost the joy and comfort of his life." By all the ties of early friendship, by close association in pursuits that inspired all their deeper feelings, and shaped their warmest aspirations, Falkland and Hyde were bound together with a love passing that of brothers. The very variety of their dispositions made one the complement of the other. Falkland found in Hyde that discernment of men, that tried instinct in affairs, that fixity of political aim, and that unswerving devotion to the dominant traditions of constitutional order in Church and State which were required to guide his vaguer aspirations, his proneness to linger over the defects of either side, and his lack of definite conviction on the leading questions of the day. In Falkland Hyde found one who enlarged his sympathies, gave a wider range to his precociously practical perception of worldly wisdom, and imparted higher ideals to the somewhat professional cast of his political aims. They supplied one another's defects and supported one another in a lofty effort to rise

[1] This Earl of Sunderland was born in 1620, succeeded his father as Lord Spencer in 1636, and in 1639 became the husband of Dorothy Sidney, daughter of Lord Leicester, and celebrated as Waller's *Sacharissa*. He was a youth of singular promise, and after acquitting himself well at Edgehill, he was created Earl of Sunderland in June, 1643. He was killed three months later at Newbury. His son, born in 1640, became the byword for political treachery and tergiversation in the Revolution period, and earned the distrust of every party with which he acted, and of every sovereign whom he served.

[2] Robert Dormer, Earl of Carnarvon, 1610–1643.

LUCIUS CARY, LORD FALKLAND.

(*From the original in the Bodleian, Oxford. Painter unknown.*)

above the petty selfishness that often ruled supreme in the troubled sea of political trouble that raged around them. Hyde's statesmanship was more profound; his perception of political expediency more acute; but to a feebler practical ability Falkland added the romance and chivalry of the soldier's instinct. Henceforward Hyde was to tread alone, and unsustained by that ardent affection, the steep and arduous path that lay before him.

In the dignified and passionate elegy which Hyde utters upon Falkland's grave, he tells us in words that sound with thrilling force through all these years, the noble traits of his friend's character. He traces his life once more through all these years; he shows his acute appreciation of the motives that shaped Falkland's views in all the early stages of the troubled times; he sets forth the reasons for Falkland's acceptance of the heavy burden of service as minister of a falling monarchy, the high principles that inspired him in his task, and the doubts and perplexities that encumbered his instincts as a soldier with sad misgivings as to the confusion and evil tendencies of the times. These are the solemn words in which Hyde describes the last tragic scene of his friend's short life—

"When there was any overture or hope of peace, he would be more erect and vigorous, and exceedingly solicitous to press anything which he thought might promote it; and sitting among his friends, often, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, would, with a shrill and sad accent, ingerminate the word *Peace, Peace;* and would passionately profess, 'that the very agony of the war, and the view of the calamities and desolations the kingdom did and must endure, took his sleep from him, and would shortly break his heart.' This made some think, or pretend to think, 'that he was so much enamoured on peace, that he would have been glad the King should have bought it at any price;' which was a most unreasonable calumny. As if a man, that

was himself the most punctual and precise in every circumstance that might reflect upon conscience or honour, could have wished the King to have committed a trespass against either. And yet this senseless scandal made some impression upon him, or at least he used it for an excuse of the daringness of his spirit. . . . He would say merrily 'that his office could not take away the privileges of his age; and that a secretary in war might be present at the greatest secret of danger;' but withal alleged seriously 'that it concerned him to be more active in enterprises of danger than other men; that all might see that his impatiency for peace proceeded not from pusillanimity or fear to adventure his own person.' . . . Whoever leads such a life needs not care upon how short warning it be taken from him." [1]

[1] *Rebellion*, vii. 233.

CHAPTER IX

FIGHTING AND PARLEYING

For eighteen months more Hyde was to remain as guide and adviser at Oxford before he took his farewell of the King. They were months eventful, alike in fighting and in policy, on both sides. So far as the fighting was concerned, no real skill in strategy, and no plan consistently pursued, had yet appeared on one side or the other. In policy new causes of exasperation, and with these new projects and designs, were arising each month. The military affairs do not enter directly into Hyde's biography. But his was the steadying and, in the main, the guiding influence in policy; and he could not discharge his thankless task without keeping himself in touch with every turn in the shifting fortune of the battlefield, and every passing broil in the motley band of military leaders. He was no longer sustained in that task by the friend who was bound to him by ties of the most entire sympathy, and by an affection that endured as the strongest of his life.

Falkland fell in September, 1643. The outlook was then black indeed for the cause of the King. In the preceding June Charles had taken a step of doubtful policy, which made hopes of conciliation more remote. Its motive was clear enough. Was it dignified, or even wise, for the King to continue to address that House, which had extorted from him the concession that dissolution should depend solely on their own will, and a remnant only of which now, with the

solemn title of Parliament, exercised tyrannical power and treated all variety of opinion as treason? The name of Parliament wielded an almost superstitious influence upon the minds of the people, and it seemed possible that by disputing its pretensions the King might dissipate the spell that it exercised on popular fancy.

It was the King himself who first mooted the new project to Hyde; and he did it as follows.

It was true that he had assented to the Act which made dissolution independent of his will. But he doubted whether such assent was legal, and whether he could divest himself of such an inherent and essential part of his prerogative. Even were this not so, the fact that the dominant majority had expelled so many members, had forced the King to withdraw from Whitehall, and had steeped itself in rebellion and treason, surely deprived it of the character of a Parliament.

The argument had the inherent vice of all those contrivances by which a man tries to slip out of the consequences of his own acts; and it is one of those many devices by which the King gave some reason to the charges of Jesuitical reasoning so often urged against him. It did not carry weight with Hyde, and he had no hesitation in stating his doubts. To declare against the authority of Parliament would provoke the fiercest jealousy, and end for ever all hope of accommodation. The Act which assigned to it the veto on its own dissolution might be right or wrong; but to dispute it on the ground that the royal assent was invalid would be to raise a similar doubt as to all the Acts by which the King had made concessions to the popular demands. It would at once consolidate all the wavering elements on the Parliamentary side, and force them, if they desired to assure even the most moderate security for liberty, to side with those who would carry on the resistance to the bitter end.

By the King Hyde was referred to Herbert, the Attorney-General, who had clearly encouraged, if he had not absolutely suggested, the arguments by which the King tried to justify the proposal. Herbert was one of those sulky natures who, after they have persuaded themselves of a certain course by means of pedantic legal arguments, resent any other view as a personal insult. He had not intelligence sufficient to form, nor modesty sufficient to allow himself to be guided to, any simple and straightforward course of action. Driven from an opinion which he could not defend, he only involved himself and others in a maze of verbal confusion. It was with difficulty that either Hyde or the King persuaded him to attempt to put his views on paper; and when he did so the result was that Charles's exaggerated estimate of his ability—perhaps due to an innate sympathy for legal chicanery—underwent a startling modification. Herbert no longer carried any weight with him.

Hyde was prepared to admit that a fair argument against the authority of Parliament might be grounded on the fact that it was acting under coercion, and that many of its members were illegally excluded. That its participation in treason could involve its dissolution was a figment that he promptly dispelled. Treason might disqualify those who were proved guilty of it, but the act of individuals could not possibly take away from Parliament its essential character. A Declaration was accordingly issued, which made no attempt to escape from the consequences of an Act which had received, with all due formality, the seal of the royal assent, but which virtually declined to recognize the authority of the Parliament at Westminster, constituted as it was.

It was only natural that this should kindle new resentment in the Parliament. It made the thought of accommodation more than ever impossible, and inflicted a discouraging blow on those who were disposed to press for it. The same effect

was increased by the alarming discovery of a plot in their own midst, by which the city was to be seized for the King, the Parliament's sympathizers in the Common Council imprisoned, and the centre of their credit handed over to the military forces of the Crown. Two men of position in the city, Tomkins and Challoner, were involved; and with them Edmund Waller, who besides being the brother-in-law of Tomkins, was the near kinsman of Cromwell and of Hampden, and whose ingratiating popularity, as well as his silvery eloquence, gave him a weight in Parliament rarely accorded to one whose chief occupation lay in the service of the Muses and in the cultivation of a reputation—European in its ambit—of a polished wit. Severe examples must be made and dire vengeance taken for a plot so daring. Tomkins and Challoner were executed; and Waller escaped only by a craven submission, by a full confession, and by an appeal to Parliament to which his wit and eloquence supplied irresistible weight. He was fined £10,000, and lived to a ripe old age with a reputation which his shiftiness depressed, and which only his wit and social tact redeemed from utter abasement.

Neither one side nor the other were yet prepared to admit defeat, although neither had the resources or the skill to achieve victory. Only further bloodshed could bring a settlement, and meanwhile, during the winter months, each could seek to secure their own political position, and strengthen their alliances.

The death of Falkland had left a Secretaryship of State vacant. The King proposed that it should be filled by Hyde; but Hyde knew the measure of his own capacity, and he also had experience enough of the jealousy felt at Court on account of his increasing influence. Once more, as when it was proposed that he should take the place of Nicholas, he refused the offer, on the plea of ignorance of foreign

affairs and of foreign languages, and joined his influence to that of the Queen, who pressed the claims of Digby. Hyde knew Digby's quickness and capacity, much as he distrusted his waywardness and his whims. He had at least the experience and knowledge of foreign affairs which the position called for, and his powers were soon put to the test.

In France, a change of vast significance had taken place by the removal from the scene of Louis XIII and of Richelieu. The balance of influence there had passed into another faction, and there was some hope that a new policy of greater sympathy with the British Crown might be evoked. The former ambassador was recalled, and in his place was sent the Count d'Harcourt—a distinguished soldier, a noble of royal descent, and the distant connection of the English King. The Queen and Digby cherished fond hopes of effective assistance from their friends in France. But it soon appeared that Mazarin was only feeling his way; that he had no mind to an irreparable breach with the English Parliament, nor sought to pursue a dangerous knight errantry in succouring the King from the hands of his foes. Harcourt came nominally as ambassador, really as a spy. His object was ostensibly to assist in bringing about an accommodation; in truth it was to establish a good understanding with the Parliamentary leaders. Rumours were rife that French gold had made them more ready to accept his overtures. Be that as it may, the ambassador soon retired, leaving the hopes of the Royalists even lower than before, and having established direct relations, over the head of the King, with his rebellious subjects.

On the part of the King and of Parliament new steps were in progress for securing their position. Littleton had carried the Great Seal to the King, and it proves the long survival of respect for law even amid the clash of arms, that the absence of that ceremonial badge was felt to weaken the Parliament's

authority. The Parliamentary leaders took the strong step now of issuing orders for a new Great Seal, which was placed in the hands of duly nominated Commissioners. Although the King was absent, the emblem of his authority was now replaced.

One of the greatest perplexities of the King, as it gave to the Parliament a pretext for suspecting his allegiance to Protestantism, had been the management of the Irish rebellion. While they refused him the means of staying the progress of the rebels, the Parliament was able to lay to his charge the triumphs in Ireland of the cause of Papacy, on the ground that he would not agree to their terms, and combine with them—or rather abandon to their hands—the conduct of military affairs there. Charles saw that this festering sore was draining at once his resources and his reputation as a sincere Protestant, and that at all hazards some relief must be given to the sufferings of that country from a civil war which—allowing for all exaggeration—was being waged with unexampled bitterness, and was permitting a dangerous interference by foreign powers. He made terms for a cessation of arms ; and once that was arranged, the order was sent to the Marquis of Ormonde to despatch to the King's assistance some of the troops liberated from the immediate task of subjugating the Irish rebels. It was a dangerous experiment. The accusation of faithlessness to his Protestant subjects, of intriguing with Popish powers abroad, of unholy compacts for the extirpation of the reformed religion, increased in virulence. The moderate contingent of troops sent over from Ireland were soon defeated and dispersed. The vain effort to recruit his resources by condoning the guilt of rebellion, and withdrawing some of the troops sent to put it down, was worse than useless ; it seemed almost to give colour to the very charges which the Parliament were most anxious to maintain.

A far more effective means of seeking a new alliance presented itself to the Parliament. The faction of Argyle had long been dominant in Scotland. Any tincture of Royalist tendency which yet lived there was effaced by the essential sympathy between those in both countries who sought to depress the authority of the Crown. Argyle had pressing need of support. Strong as he was in Scotland, by virtue of his passing skill in dissimulation, he had in the Marquis of Hamilton and his brother, the Earl of Lanark, more than doubtful allies, and in the Earl of Montrose an open and implacable foe. It was almost of necessity his policy to form a close bond with the English Parliament. The overtures were readily received, and Commissioners were soon sent from England to treat of the conditions upon which a Scottish army might enter England as the allies of the Parliament.

The arrangements were not simple, and in the turbulent sea of Scottish politics it was easy to discern currents that would contend fiercely with the main stream of the English popular movement. The Solemn League and Covenant, which embodied the fundamental standard of Scottish Presbyterianism, was the most powerful weapon in the hands of Argyle, and all who felt with him. It was by means of this that the most powerful, selfish, and unscrupulous of aristocratic oligarchies enlisted in its support all that was fervent and enthusiastic in the popular sympathies of Scotland. No tampering with it was possible ; and no alliance that did not rest upon this foundation was admissible. How could it be made palatable to English appetites ?

The leading commissioner sent to deal with the Scots was the younger Sir Henry Vane,[1] a man who, to his father's turbulence, joined a dexterity in the management of hazardous combinations to which that father could not pretend.

[1] Commonly known, Anthony a Wood tells us, as Sir Humorous Vanity.

From his experience in America, he had acquired a love of political intrigue, and a strong sympathy with the Independent phase of religious or ecclesiastical doctrine; and this was enhanced by his natural tendency to a sort of mystic exaltation, in him united with an instinctive love of tortuous ingenuity. With marvellous subtlety he managed to bring the Scottish leaders to trust their proposed allies, and the English Parliament to accept, under easy reservations, the Solemn League and Covenant, which was the price to be paid for the assistance of the Scottish army. It was, indeed, a feat of Machiavellian dexterity to bring a party which was hotly set upon the extirpation of Episcopacy—very largely because Episcopacy was the faithful ally of the Crown—to accept the yoke of an intolerant Presbyterianism, of whose creed the monarchical system formed an inherent part.

It was in vain that the King strove, by new addresses and negotiations, to break the compact between the Scots and Parliament. It was hard for any one at Oxford to see through the tortuous mazes of Scottish politics. The King knew not whom to trust. He had long since discerned how little he could depend upon the treacherous pretence of loyalty assumed by Argyle. Hamilton and Lanark were not much more worthy of confidence, although Lanark's shiftiness was due rather to the influence of his brother than to anything in his own disposition. Even as to Montrose it was hard to judge what reliance could be placed on his vehement denunciations of the treachery of men who were his inveterate foes; and the difficulty was the greater because scandal perhaps credited him with an offer to remove them by assassination.[1]

[1] It is perhaps too much to say that such a scandal ever took substantial form. That rough soldier of fortune, the Earl of Crawford, did certainly offer to kidnap Hamilton and Argyle, or to stab them with his own hand, and the same readiness in ruthless method may have been ascribed to Montrose. Strangely enough, Hyde, when writing his *Life* far from documents, did assume its truth: but it found no place in his earlier, and more accurate *History of the Rebellion*. In any case Montrose's character gives the lie to the story.

The Royalist policy in regard to Scotland was nothing but a helpless groping after some light amidst its darkness. Hamilton and Lanark came to Oxford, but were first received with coldness, and then placed under arrest. Within this sphere of political action Hyde's guidance, if it was exerted, was worse than useless. He neither possessed, nor sought to acquire, any real knowledge of Scottish affairs. The beginning and end of his policy towards Scotland was relentless and uncompromising hatred for a nation which he held to be steeped in rebellion, hardened to an uncouth form of religious creed and ceremonial, inspired only by restless selfishness, and ready to achieve its ends by flagrant breaches of every law of conscience or of honour. In one point only Hyde's political instinct was absolutely correct in regard to any compact with Scotland. It told him that no compromise would be more fatal to his own ideals, or more inconsistent with the deepest feelings of the mass of Englishmen, than one which sought to foist upon England the yoke of an alien Presbyterianism.

The negotiations between the Court and the Scottish Parliament failed absolutely; and for the time a new and heavy blow was dealt to the hopes of the adherents of the King. Those between Vane and the Scottish Covenanters resulted in the acceptance of the Covenant by the English Parliament, and the presence in England in January, 164$\frac{4}{5}$, of a Scottish army of 21,000 men. It may almost be said that the compact sowed the seeds of a growth which eventually led to the disruption of that party for whose strength and confidence it was arranged. Hyde failed, as a diplomatist, in dealing with the Scots; but he judged correctly, as a prophet, the path which his own countrymen would ultimately tread.

The violence of the ecclesiastical policy of the Parliament had already shown itself. Hundreds of Episcopalian ministers had already been thrust out of their charges.

Armed soldiers had dispersed congregations, and the attempt to read the Book of Common Prayer had been summarily repressed. Now the taking of the oath to the Solemn League and Covenant was enforced on every incumbent. For the time, a triumphant Presbyterianism had full scope for its intolerant sway. The Parliamentary leaders were soon to find that the advantages that they thus gained might be purchased too dearly. Before many months were over there were murmurings between the English and the Scottish armies; before a year was over Independency was showing its power, and England was realizing that she had gained little by enthroning Presbyterianism in place of Episcopacy.

The policy of this new compact had been strongly supported by one, the end of whose career was near. Pym's health failed rapidly during the autumn—according to the most trustworthy accounts, from a painful internal ailment. To him, probably more than to any other man, the gradual progress of the Parliamentary opposition had been due. He had guided it in its first stages; had intervened, with the instinct of a Parliamentary tactician, at the critical moment in the most important debates; and again and again he had given the lead at a doubtful juncture. His object from the first had been, not merely to curb the excesses of the Royal prerogative, but fundamentally to alter the relative position of the Crown and the Parliament; to introduce something like the modern system, in which the Crown acts only through responsible ministers, who virtually owe their position to Parliamentary support—a system in which the theory that the Sovereign can do no wrong is reconciled with actual facts by arranging that, however great the personal influence of the holder of the Crown may be, he can, as a Sovereign, undertake no political act whatever, independent of his ministers. It is a scheme, perhaps salutary, but at the very least as revolutionary as was that which inspired Strafford

JOHN PYM.

(From the original by Cornelius Janssen, in the Victoria and Albert Museum.)

in the opposite direction. Pym is entitled to claim the credit due to one who anticipated a movement which was destined eventually to point the line of English constitutional development down to our own day. He would be a rash man who would claim for it finality; the man who would claim for it indubitable supremacy amongst all other constitutional systems, or hold it to be a sure guarantee of individual liberty, proves only his own dogmatic confidence. Pym, as a politician, was simply an adherent, by anticipation, of the creed associated with the Whig of the days of the Revolution and the Act of Settlement. But before England accepted the political settlement at which he aimed, she had to shake herself free from the incubus of a religious system alien to her tastes, her traditions, and her sympathies. It was in partnership with a strong national Episcopacy, and not in alliance with an alien Presbyterianism, that she ultimately shaped her constitutional future.

Pym's aims, then, were neither very exalted nor very original, but they undoubtedly showed much foresight. To realize them he applied with much skill the arts that must be practised by a Parliamentary leader. In the modern sense of the word he and Hampden may be said to be the first of the long line, and these two laid down some rules that have guided their successors ever since. Pym's was no accidental leadership, nor was it designated by any patron or clique. He was emphatically leader because he had the power to lead. He was not exempt from the temptation, incidental to the position, of submitting himself to a policy with which he was not in accord, because it was necessary in order to hold his party together. He accepted the Solemn League and Covenant, most undoubtedly, from policy and not from conviction. This does not involve any charge of personal dishonesty, nor is there any sufficient ground for maintaining

such a charge against Pym. That he was ready to enter into negotiations for accepting office from the King as late as the autumn of 1641, involves no implication against his honour, nor any abandonment of his aim. He may well have supposed that, as a minister with a powerful Parliamentary backing, he could have moulded the actual administration to his own mind, and reduced the Crown to the degree of stripping away all its independent political power, without taking from it the weight of personal influence. That he accepted bribes from France would require proof stronger than mere gossip, and is scarcely consistent with his dying a poor man, whose debts Parliament had to pay.

Pym died in December, and in January, 164$\frac{4}{3}$, the Scottish army, whose assistance had been bought, by his advice, at the price of accepting the Solemn League and Covenant, entered England. In the same month a bold defiance was offered to the Parliament, by the meeting at Oxford of those members of both Houses who had long been expelled, or had withdrawn, from Westminster, and whom the King had summoned to meet him where his Court was then held. The numbers were considerable: not fewer than 118 of the Commons and 43 of the Lords responded to his summons. The King addressed both Houses in the Hall of Christ Church, and afterwards the two Houses sat separately in the Convocation Rooms. They at once showed their readiness to enter upon negotiations for a settlement. A letter, signed by all Peers and members of the House of Commons who were at Oxford, was sent to Lord Essex on January 29th, stating their own anxiety "in the deep and piercing sense of the present miseries and desolations of our country . . . to be happy instruments of our country's redemption from the miseries of war," and inviting Essex "to take part in that blessed work." They pray for his help in arranging that "some persons be appointed on either part, and a place agreed on,

to treat of such a peace as may yet redeem our country from the brink of desolation." [1]

The purpose of the letter would seem too good to be recklessly thrust aside by any one who had the public weal at heart. But Essex was in a difficult position. He was the servant of the "Parliament assembled at Westminster," and to receive as authoritative a communication from "the Parliament assembled at Oxford" would have been a breach of his commission. Technically he was right simply to acknowledge "a letter and parchment subscribed by divers Lords and gentlemen" and to answer that "it neither having address to the two Houses of Parliament, nor therein there being any acknowledgment of them, I could not communicate it to them." No solution of the dispute was to be hoped for, through the medium of rival Parliaments, each denying the right of the other to recognition. The intention might be laudable, but its method was foredoomed to failure.

So far as can be seen, the deliberations of both Houses followed very much the lines indicated by the Council of the King, or rather by the smaller council, which was called the Junto or Cabinet,[2] and there is no evidence that any division of parties was developed, or that long debates took place. One important step they did take, but only following a policy which had already been adopted by the Parliament at Westminster. In January that House had, to meet its financial necessities, established an excise "upon wine, beer, ale, and many other commodities." [3] The example was too good to be thrown away, and in March a similar excise was established in all the towns held by the King. On both

[1] *Rebellion*, vii. 373.

[2] This consisted of the Duke of Richmond, Lord Cottington, Lord Digby and Nicholas, the Secretaries of State, Sir John Colepepper, Master of the Rolls, and Hyde, Chancellor of the Exchequer (*Life*, i. 204).

[3] *Rebellion*, vii. 396.

sides it proved the easiest and most sure source of financial supply. Both sides made, as Hyde tells us, "ample declarations, with bitter reproaches upon the necessity that drew on this imposition, 'that it should be continued no longer than to the end of the war and then laid down and utterly abolished';" "which few wise men," he adds, "believed it would ever be." His own experience, as Chancellor of a very impoverished exchequer, was quite sufficient to give him confidence in that early prognostication, which time has proved so true.

The spring saw the renewal of the campaign, and the months of early summer were filled with some thrilling adventures. Oxford was threatened as the Parliamentary forces seemed to close around it. The Oxford Parliament had done what little was required of it, besides furnishing the means of surrounding the Court with more of legal form and authority, and it was prorogued till October. In April the Queen, who knew the inveterate hostility she had aroused, and against whom Parliament had launched an impeachment, quitted Oxford, and took what was fated to be her last farewell of the King, her husband. She retired to Exeter, where in June she gave birth to a Princess, who began her short life amidst the noise and confusion of civil war, and ended it under a cloud of suspicion as Duchess of Orleans. Before the Queen's health was re-established, she was anxious to take the waters at Bath, and applied to Essex for a safe conduct, which was refused; and the almost sarcastic offer of a conduct to London was proposed instead. With the spirit of her race she ventured the journey to Falmouth independently, and safely escaped to France.

The state of military preparation was not fitted to inspire confidence amongst the Royalists; and the worst feature of all was the ignoble suspicions and jealousies—both against the members of the Council and against each other—which

prevailed from the highest to the lowest grade of the officers, and naturally infected the rank and file of the King's army. Little as he personally could presume to judge of tactics, Hyde saw enough to know that no consistent military plan was pursued for many days together. Had they held with strength the various garrisons round Oxford, within easy striking distance of the capital, in case it should be left deserted, and had they moved a strong force to aid their friends in the west, such a plan would in Hyde's opinion have brought good promise of success to the Royalist arms. But this was precisely what was not done. Jealousy as to command, the over-obstinacy of one, the wayward changeableness of another, and above all the constant jealousy of the Council, which could alone judge of the political position, perplexed all plans, and made it plain that the Royalists were in no position to avail themselves even of such chances as might be offered. The Council of War admitted to its deliberations only Digby and Colepepper, of the officers of State. When Hyde himself was consulted, it was only when it was too late for advice, and when ways and means had to be provided.

Of the military officers—besides Prince Rupert, who set authority at defiance—the first in position was Lord Ruthen, the old Scotch general, created first Earl of Forth, and then, in this year 1644, Earl of Brentford. He had military experience, and unquestionable courage and integrity. But his best work was done. Never more than the rough Scottish military adventurer, he had acquired the vices of his class, and his very moderate understanding was now often muddled by drink. He had a convenient deafness, which could always, when he chose, relieve him of responsibility for plans proposed in his presence and accepted without demur, which it might be convenient for him afterwards to disavow. Dugald Dalgetty, in his cups and in

his dotage, was not the best leader of an army that called for iron will and an intelligence alert enough to catch every chance opportunity, in a war where swift decision and prompt action told for more than the slow methods of prolonged campaigns.

Lord Wilmot, the general of the horse, had made himself beloved by the army as the brightest, wittiest, most free and careless of boon companions; alert enough in pressing a proposal that he fancied, but never dominated by one fancy for long. Impatient of contradiction, with a positiveness that looked like resolution, ready at one moment to mock the senile feebleness of the general, and at another to rouse his temper at imagined slights from the perverse "councillors;" more than once carrying independence of action far beyond the point wherein discipline passes into rank mutiny —Wilmot was one who had to be alternately humoured and controlled. Hopton's qualities we have already seen; a man of "a good understanding, a clean courage, an industry not to be tired, a generosity not to be exhausted;" above all, of "a virtue that none of the rest had"; but his ambition did not aspire to, nor his abilities warrant, his appointment to supreme command.

There was another, who, although once already proved to be capable of strange freaks of treachery, had now returned from his exile and again found himself trusted with high command in Charles's armies. This was Goring, whose past history we have already seen, and whose conspicuous abilities were more than balanced by a callous insensibility to all the claims of honour. He divided with Wilmot the claims of super-eminence in all the licence of profligate debauchery. Both were past masters in that vice, but Wilmot had the decency to prevent its interfering with necessary business. Both had sharp wit, but Goring's was the sharper, "save in the exercise of debauchery, and *then Wilmot was inspired.*"

If Wilmot was keen to discern and guard against danger, Goring had the stronger nerves and the cooler brain to meet it. Not the most urgent claims of military strategy could tear Goring from a carouse; Wilmot usually kept sober when an enemy was at hand. To the claims of friendship and the calls of honour both were insensible; but Wilmot generally had a motive for their violation, while Goring sinned without scruple, and in the mere wantonness of humour. In both, ambition was restrained neither by justice nor good nature; but Wilmot had occasional moods of religious impulse which startled him from the foulest wickedness. To greater recklessness of crime Goring added, also, a higher range of dissimulation. When Wilmot happened to be sober, he felt at times some qualms of conscience; it was only Goring's utter abandonment to debauchery that kept him from the supremacy of wickedness in his generation.[1]

It was no wonder that with such military leaders, the advice of trained statesmen like Digby and Colepepper should have a weight in Council which was apt to irritate the soldiers' professional pride.

In the opening of the summer Essex advanced against the King with a well-equipped force. Manchester, supported by the Scottish army of 21,000 men, could be trusted to look after the north. If Waller kept matters safe in the west, Essex might concentrate his efforts on making Oxford untenable by the King. It seemed by the end of May as if his purpose might be accomplished, and consternation was felt amongst those gathered in what had hitherto seemed the secure retreat of Oxford. Hyde had to pass some weeks of strained anxiety, all the greater because he had not the relief

[1] Hyde gives vent to his evident detestation of both in the two portraits, where he allows his pen an almost extravagant range of vituperation, and points it with his most acid wit (*History of Rebellion*, viii. 169).

of that active service which fell to others. Essex approached as near as Abingdon, and eventually had his outposts at Islip. Waller was hemming in the city on the other side, and it was only its convenient defences of the Isis and the Cherwell that stayed the victorious advance of the Parliament's combined army. That advance must have placed the King and all his followers absolutely at the mercy of Essex and Waller.

It was on June 3rd that Charles left Oxford for the west, and passed by hurried marches first to the Cotswold Hills, and then to Worcester. It was a desperate attempt, but skilfully contrived, and carried out with that conspicuous courage that grew stronger in the King's breast the more disasters crowded upon him. The Parliamentary army learned only after he had had a good start, that the object of their attack on Oxford had escaped their hands. They followed him when too late, and left the Oxford garrison with leisure to strengthen their defences and to increase their stores. When he had reached Worcester, having led his enemies on a fool's errand, Charles turned back and reached Oxford safely on June 20th, only seventeen days after he had left it. He found that good use had been made of the interval, and that the city could face a threatened siege with easier courage.

But the King's plan was now to make little stay at Oxford. During July he was moving about Bucks and Northamptonshire, seeking to counter the plans of Waller. It was a consciousness of weakness, perhaps, that suggested this plan of restless campaigning. But it disconcerted his opponents, kept his armies busy, and perhaps happily prevented that concentration of forces which would have exhibited too plainly the enormous preponderance of the Parliamentary army. There were dissensions between Essex and Waller, and discontent on the part of Essex with the

treatment meted out to him by the leaders at Westminster. These gave the King a fair opportunity, that with better fortune and more settled counsels might have been turned to more effective use. But the lack of discipline in his own army prevented his availing himself to the full of any such chances as offered. At Copredy Bridge, in Northamptonshire, however, on June 29th, he managed to inflict a blow which, if it did no more, at least reduced the prestige of Waller's strategy and the courage of his army. Again the King moved westward, to rouse the spirits of his friends there. But on his way there he was met by the crushing news of the disaster of Marston Moor. With his usual recklessness, Rupert, when he had joined his forces to those of Newcastle, neglected all precautions, flouted the orders of the older general, and scorned all military advice. Had he only remained quiescent, the Parliamentary army in the north, which was honeycombed with jealousies, and ill at ease in its junction with the Scots, might soon have been reduced to impotence. But Rupert's overweening confidence persuaded him to hurry on the battle with an enemy "who had no other hope to preserve them but a present battle."[1] The consequence was the calamitous rout of Marston Moor, in July, at the hands of Fairfax and Cromwell, which broke the back of the Royalist power in the north, lost to the King the city of York, and marked the most decisive decline that the Royalist cause had as yet suffered. Newcastle, disgusted at his treatment by Prince Rupert and the open scorn of his command, threw up his commission, and retired to the Continent, feeling that all his loyalty and all his lavish sacrifices had been wasted on a failing cause, and vexed to see the reckless indiscipline of a favoured boy preferred to the experience and unselfish loyalty of the best of England's aristocracy. The King's forces were

[1] *Rebellion*, viii. 74.

not only defeated; the defeat had overwhelmed them with shame and indignation. They were not beaten only, but betrayed. The consequences of such a blow might perhaps be repaired by new sacrifices of money and of life; the memory of it would never be effaced.

Charles still moved about with marvellous pertinacity and courage in the west, and especially in Cornwall, where he was opposed by Essex. The King commands respect for an energy, and even a grasp of strategy, which disaster only brought more vividly to light. When he was present, success generally attended the Royalist arms; it was when his authority was absent that wavering and inconsistent plans led to defeat. No belittling of his abilities can set aside the unquestionable fact that the interest and the essence of the war now centred about the person of the King; that it was he individually who aroused the devotion of his followers and inspired the animosity of his opponents. Constitutional theories grew pale in the fiercer light of the personal drama.

Rumours of Essex's discontent had by this time penetrated to the Royalist camp, and they inspired renewed and eager efforts to detach him from his fealty to Parliament. But it must be remembered that every day of a soldier's service makes fealty to the cause he has adopted more entirely part of that soldier's instinct of honour. During the first skirmishes men might feel that they had erred or been deceived, and might with honour and with honesty change their sides. But as the war waxed older they had formed new ties of comradeship and had plighted a deeper faith; they had fought and had bled, and had seen others fight and bleed, for a common cause that was now sacred to them; honour now pointed out their course more clearly, and the instinct of military fidelity had obtained a firmer grip upon their hearts. Essex acted after his own character,

and haughtily declined all dealings apart from those in the Parliament, whose commission he bore, and whose right to his military duty was a stronger thing to him than any refinements of political argument, or any theories of constitutional authority. He answered a letter sent by certain officers, with the connivance of the King, suggesting a conference, in words that were at once curt and dignified :

"My Lords,

"In the beginning of your letter you express by what authority you send it; I, having no authority from the Parliament who have employed me, to treat, cannot give way to it without breach of trust.

"I am,

"Your humble servant,

"Essex.

"August 10, 1644."

These were the words of a soldier who prized his military honour above all things, and who knew the duty which faithful allegiance, however rashly pledged, imposed upon him. But Essex had little to encourage him to the fight. Waller had already hampered and opposed him, and doubtless Essex had already learned that an opposition stronger than that of Waller was forming against him, and against others of his order. He had good reason to believe that Parliament was not over-zealous in their support; and as a fact, even had that support been more hearty, the resources of Parliament were, for the time, unequal to the task of keeping on foot the various armies that were absolutely necessary to maintain their cause. Although just on the eve of a great accession of strength, they were now in dread of imminent danger. If a Royalist army were dispersed, the magic of the King's name might evoke another from the scattered crowds of his adherents. One or two decisive defeats of the Parliamentary forces, on the other hand, would be enough to

dissipate the whole fabric of their power, and place them absolutely at the mercy of the King. There were comparatively few on the Royalist side who, like Hyde, would have deemed that such a success might prudently be followed only by oblivion of past offences, and a moderate restoration of the power of the Crown. The Parliament knew that, if defeated, they would be at the mercy of exasperated men.

Essex was therefore hard pressed, and at last found himself irretrievably cut off by Charles's forces at Lostwithiel, in Cornwall. He added indignity to his defeat by himself escaping by sea to Plymouth, and leaving his lieutenant to surrender to the King. Charles, with a desire for conciliation that was perhaps mistaken, suffered the Parliamentary army to depart with the loss only of their arms.

This happened in September, and Charles now began to move eastward to Oxford. Before he arrived there he had another fight with the combined forces of Manchester and Waller, at Newbury. The issue of the fight was very different for the two sides. For Charles it was enough to achieve his object of returning to Oxford, where he could make secure the surrounding garrisons, and establish himself safely for the winter in his usual quarters. For the Parliamentary generals it seemed essential, if the struggle so often repeated was not to be faced again, that the army of the King should be so broken as to make his maintenance of the garrisons round Oxford impossible. Charles achieved his object successfully; Manchester and Waller suffered a defeat for which each blamed the other. The necessity of a reorganization of their forces and a reconstitution of the commands was brought distinctly into prominence. The King returned once more to winter quarters at Oxford on November 23rd, 1644, and the task of again framing a new policy and of providing new resources for the struggle fell

on Hyde and his fellow-councillors. They soon found that they were now to have a more relentless enemy to deal with, and one whose plans were more deeply laid.

Already it had become clear that a new force was at work in the Parliamentary ranks. Those members of the great aristocracy, like Essex and Manchester, who had hitherto given to the cause the great weight of their names and influence and had brought to it more or less efficient military skill, were necessarily inclined to some compromise, which, while it would curb the royal prerogative, would leave their social and political conditions unaltered. They could have no desire to see the whole fabric of their privilege disappear, and already they must have been convinced that if any remnant of it were to be preserved, some means of ending the war must be devised. As for religious matters, so far as they attached any importance to them, they were content with a modified Presbyterianism, and were not prepared to hazard other things in order to preserve—if they did not even wish to destroy—Episcopacy. They found it hard to keep their troops, casually raised, and still more casually paid, by the county authorities, together as an effective force; and it was therefore clear that a protracted war included the possible risk of a disastrous ending which would leave them all in the position of defeated traitors.

All such counsels, and all those in whose interests they were pressed, had now to meet the deliberate hostility of Cromwell, whose plans were rapidly ripening. He had no love for the Scots. He had minimized the value of their aid. He had no mind that the work on which the Parliament and its armies were embarked should have a limit set to it by the pedantries of a Scottish Assembly, or the selfish tricks of a few Scottish nobles. He found in their vaunted Presbyterianism a new instrument of galling tyranny, even less acceptable than Episcopacy, because it was of alien birth;

and in the growing force of Independency he found an ally which he could bend far more easily to his own purposes. He felt that the fight now was with no abstract aims of prerogative, but with the person of the King; and to him the man who sought to effect a compromise was one who misconceived the whole meaning of the struggle, and who was a traitor to the cause. Above all, he saw clearly that no levies raised by a timid and ineffective militia ordinance, and no army which could impose a limit to its own military duties, and had to look for sustenance only to casual and irregular pay, could be a fit instrument for the work which they now had in hand. When they had drawn the sword, they had necessarily cast away the scabbard; and the army must have its action freed from the delays and imbroglios of Parliamentary faction.

To any overtures of accommodation Cromwell was invincibly opposed, and gradually he prepared his mines against them. Essex had now lost all that influence with the Parliament which had once made his easily the most commanding name amongst the adherents of their cause. The influence of Manchester was at first a counterpoise to his, but Cromwell now made no secret of his opposition both to Essex and Manchester. Already in the autumn of 1644, after both had suffered military disaster, he made use of his authority in Parliament to undermine their influence. At the same time he pressed on the scheme of the New Model Army, which was to be levied, not through county authorities, but by the supreme power of Parliament, and for which pay was to be provided regularly, and at fixed rates, by those who represented the State. This at once made a totally new theory of discipline operative, and stopped, once for all, any plea that a man could not be called upon to serve except in the county to which he belonged and whose summons he had obeyed. Cromwell pressed another and a more drastic

ordinance, which was aimed at the commanders themselves. No member of either House of Parliament was to be capable of holding military command. As soon as this ordinance should become law, every member of the House of Lords was necessarily deprived of any hope of wielding authority in the army, which was for the time the centre of power, and the army was equally divorced from the ties that bound it to the House of Commons. If a man wished to have his hand on the real weapon of power, he must retire from its debates.

The House of Lords was not prepared to agree to a change which would so fundamentally alter their relation to affairs. But the project was started; their eventual assent must sooner or later be extorted; and they were reduced to a degree of impotence that made their temporary opposition count for little.

The best policy for those who were determined to check projects of compromise was to give stern instances of their resolve. Such an opportunity was found in the revival of the prosecution of Archbishop Laud. For three years he had lain in prison, and amidst the confusion of rapid change and the shock of arms it might have been thought that charges which were already out of date, and accusations which had lost their meaning, might have been allowed to pass into oblivion. Laud was to all appearance powerless now, and his death at this juncture would in no way affect the ultimate result of his work. But a stern lesson had to be taught to those who talked of compromise, and, if possible, an irreparable breach must be made with those on the Royalist side who would listen to proposals of accommodation on every other subject but the Church. The most pronounced representative of their views, the man who, more than any other, stood for the traditions, ceremonies, and government of the Church, must be pursued to the death. It was an ignoble pursuit; but its very ruthlessness made it effective.

There was a pretence of a trial before the Peers; but the few members of the House, who still deigned to wield an almost obsolete authority, scarcely made a show of attention, and did not take the trouble of sitting through the arguments upon which they were to pass judgment. With less of scruple even than in the case of Strafford, an "Ordinance of Attainder" —it was no longer possible even to assume the fiction of an Act—was passed by the Commons and contemptuously forced upon the Lords, even though some lingering qualms of conscience made them hesitate. Amidst their own quarrels and jealousies, and while the chief matter occupying the stage was the ambition that grasped at a tyrannical military domination, these stalwart combatants could spare a moment to take a belated vengeance upon an aged and enfeebled enemy in order that by so doing they might make the breach in the State henceforward unbridgeable.

Laud was led to execution on January 10, $164\frac{5}{4}$. So far as the present religious controversy was concerned his passing from the scene did not alter the position by a hair's-breadth. Humanity, were it allowed to judge the deed upon the broad and wholesome standards that may fitly be applied to such a case, will have little difficulty in placing it in the proper category as an act of atrocious cruelty, carried out in defiance both of legal sanction and of moral scruple. That pretence of impartiality which seeks to find excuses for all the acts of the Parliamentary majority, and helps its sophistries by some admission of merit in the aims of Laud, is ready to argue that his punishment was justified because of his intolerance, and because he did not realize the ineffable advantages of a vague dream of indefinite comprehension which was in some happy period to take shape, and was to obliterate the chief features of the Church of England. To such pretence the downright prejudices of pronounced partisanship are almost to be preferred. If his persecutors

are to be justified in executing Laud because he was intolerant in enforcing conformity within the Church, would it not be well to adduce one word from them alleging such a charge? Laud was accused not of intolerance, but of innovation. There was sound reason in the charge. Undoubtedly Laud did attempt to bring into the services, the discipline, the spirit, of the Church, an order, a decency, a religious fervour, which, since the Reformation, it had most certainly lacked. That his ideal was neither that of disordered, albeit perfervid, fanaticism, nor that of gelatinous indifferentism, is a crime or a merit according to the taste of each man. Of being intolerant, Laud was not charged by his enemies; of introducing a spirit of innovation he was not only accused, but he would not have denied the charge. His innovations have the merit, whatever that amounts to, of having lived from his day to our own. It is to him, more than any man, that we owe the fact that the Church broke with the cramping spirit of Puritanism—not in its vulgar sense of mere decency of morals, but in its deeper sense of a negation of the intellectual and æsthetic aspect of religion. It was he who gave that ideal of Church order, which was all but banished in the commotion of the Reformation. It was Laud also who gave that germ of independence to the Church which, while it made her a partaker in the machine of well-ordered constitutional government, yet preserved her from the thraldom of an exaggerated Erastianism. With a House of Commons largely nonconformist that is a strange survival, but none the less it is a real and permanent one; and it is to Laud that the Church owes what has been the most vitalizing element in her constitution.

The execution of Laud was a defiance of those who would, like Charles himself and Hyde, have sacrificed much in order to preserve the Church. It was also a defiance of the House of Lords. Again that House was humiliated in

the proceedings regarding the two Hothams, father and son. These formed a tragic ending to a long story of vacillation on the part of these two representatives of a great and wealthy family whom their own misplaced ambition and tergiversation brought to a cruel and despised end. With little to tempt them into the paths of revolution, they had at first sided with the Parliament, and had found themselves forced to inflict upon the King the first and crowning insult of closing in his face the gates of his garrison of Hull. Then, jealous of the superior Fairfax influence, they had involved themselves in treachery to Parliament, and had been imprisoned for a year. They were now tried by court martial, convicted, and beheaded,[1] father and son vying with one another in an odious effort each to save his own life at the expense of the other. Even in the annals of this miserable war there are few episodes so pitiful. The efforts of the Lords to save them were imperiously brushed aside.

The temper of the dominant party in Parliament was in little mood for framing terms of accommodation. On the other hand, Hyde and those who thought with him were resolved not to lose the chance of a treaty for which they trusted that the divisions amongst their opponents gave a gleam of hope. The Parliament at Oxford had again assembled, and was ready to make overtures; but it was felt that such overtures would come with little prospect of success from a Parliament whose very name implied a derogation from the dignity of the Houses at Westminster. The King himself wrote to propose a conference, and sent the message by the hands of the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Southampton, to whom the Parliament granted a safe conduct. Even if it failed, Hyde rightly judged that it would be useful in impressing the nation with a belief in

[1] January, 164$\frac{8}{9}$.

the King's anxiety to end the miseries of war. Both for the King and for Hyde, the Church was the one point on which there could be no betrayal of their trust; and that was also the one point on which the Parliamentary party was hopelessly divided. Cromwell and his party were fixed in their resolution to carry on the war to the bitter end, but it did not suit them now to incur the odium of rejecting at the outset all proposals for peace. They might enter upon a conference in the full trust that they would secure its utter failure. It was in this spirit on both sides that the conference at Uxbridge was arranged, and gathered in February for a brief and agitated meeting. At that meeting there appeared for the Parliament Northumberland, still angry at the former rejection by the Court of his overtures for accommodation; the Earls of Pembroke and Salisbury, of little credit and interest either in Parliament or the country, and both judging "that the highest point of prudence and politic circumspection" was the retention by the one of Wilton, and by the other of Hatfield; and the Earl of Denbigh, whose pride and arrogance had entangled him too deeply in designs of which he would willingly have shaken himself free, and who professed that willingness very freely to one of the commissioners, whom we may safely identify with Hyde. Pembroke expressed to Hyde his concurrence, whatever it was worth, in similar views. Whitelocke was there, pledged by his own interests, although his views were wavering, to adhere to his Parliamentary allies. Loudoun and Lauderdale, with the other Scottish commissioners associated with the English representatives, made it their business to press the Presbyterian settlement, which commanded no hearty support from their fellows. Sir Henry Vane, St. John, and Prideaux were the representatives of the Independents, and were in truth but spies upon the rest.[1] From commissioners

[1] *Rebellion*, viii. 241.

so divided little hope of effective business could be looked for.

The main points for discussion were three: the settlement of the Church; the Militia; and the affairs of Ireland. In regard to the first Hyde was privately assailed at once by Loudoun and Pembroke by earnest suggestions that some substantial concessions should be made. The other points, it was urged, could easily be arranged if this stumblingblock were out of the way, and if, by a surrender of the Episcopal hierarchy, the King would yield to the earnest wish of those who would support him in the essentials of his power. Such a concession would have been against the conscience of Hyde as much as of the King, and he was perhaps able to discern that, even had it been made, it would have rendered the hostility of the Independents not less, but more, inveterate, He expressed himself in the same sense in the open discussions.

In regard to the Militia, for a time it looked as if a compromise were more possible. If, it was urged, some concessions might be made, it would weaken the objections under the other heads. Hyde and the commissioners for the King urged him to give them leave to propose that the Militia should be placed, for seven or eight years, in the hands of persons sworn to observe certain articles which the treaty might lay down, and they even suggested certain names, including those of Essex, Northumberland, Warwick, Manchester, Fairfax, and Cromwell. The King reluctantly agreed, and named certain persons on his own part, amongst whom, to his dismay, Hyde found himself included. But time was thus wasted; there was no cordial wish for a settlement on the side of Parliament, and when the conference broke up no agreement was reached.

As for Ireland, the matter was really one rather of mutual suspicion than of real desire to settle some method

of procedure. The Parliamentary commissioners complained that the King had made an untimely truce, and had then employed the troops, set free by it, against his own Parliament. The King's commissioners could equally urge that the Parliament had employed troops and money, raised for Ireland, in prosecution of the civil war in England. Each saw that to hand over to their opponents the means of effectively dealing with the Irish difficulty was to place in their hands an instrument that might be used for far different purposes. It was a battle of accusation and suspicion, not a sincere effort to compose a difficulty.

The sands of time were running out, and Hyde found his worst fears realized. The quarrels amongst the adherents of Parliament, however fierce, were not enough to make them yield up any of their pretensions. Had either party of the disputants within their ranks shown any such indication, they knew that they would return to Westminster discredited and powerless. Cromwell had foreseen with absolute foresight that this futile effort would increase his power. Hyde saw that he must be content with having shown that the King was eager for a settlement. His efforts to get nearer to it were doomed to disappointment. From his own vivid account of the negotiations we can picture the thin coating of superficial courtesy that covered ineradicable suspicion, and a deadly conviction that either side must aim at nothing less than the complete destruction of the other. We catch glimpses of renewals of old intercourse, which would fain have become more cordial, but were carried on under the watchful eyes of jealous associates. The rules of precedence were strictly observed. Ample opportunities were given for consultation, and the premises at their disposal were arranged with every regard to the convenience of all. They approached the Council Chamber by separate doors and staircases; they respected one another's privacy; and carefully abstained from

violence of language. But it was such observance of studied courtesy as is maintained during the preliminaries of a deadly duel. The men who sat opposite one another could recall old friendships, and many of them would gladly have forgotten later feuds; but they knew well that they greeted one another for the last time, and would meet, if they ever met again, as implacable foes.

The conference broke up after the stated period of one and twenty days, and from the last sittings it became clear that even the formalities of outward courtesy could not be observed much longer. They had been days of unresting labour for Hyde, above all, by whom many of the written replies for his own side were drawn. His strength was well-nigh exhausted, and he welcomed the end of the useless effort. The conference ended without result; but during its progress the King's affairs had been notably injured by the loss of Shrewsbury.

Hyde's own position was soon greatly altered. Some—he probably amongst them—were of opinion that the cost of the effort to keep the Court at Oxford was too great. They would have wished the garrison reduced to a minimum, while the Court moved westward to Bristol or Exeter, where the King would have had leisure to recruit his forces. But Oxford provided a pleasant and convenient lodging for the luxurious crowd that still gathered round the Court—most of them counting as mouths to feed, and not as arms to fight. This bold change of plan was therefore abandoned. But the King came to the conclusion that to keep the Prince in his own company was "to venture too much in one bottom." "It was time,"[1] he thought, "to unboy his son by putting him into some action and acquaintance with business, out of his own sight." He had already chosen a Council for the Prince, consisting of the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of

[1] Prince Charles was born in 1630, and was now in his fifteenth year.

Southampton, Lord Capel, Lord Hopton,[1] Lord Colepepper, and Hyde; to whom the Earl of Berkshire was added as the Prince's governor, a post in which he had succeeded Hertford, and which from sheer stupidity he was singularly incompetent to fill. It was now decided that the Prince, with his Council, should move to the west, and take up his quarters at Bristol. Richmond and Southampton foresaw the difficulties that would attend the task, and managed to evade it. The others had to undertake what was an irksome charge. Under the nominal command of the Prince—in reality under the supervision of his Council—the forces in the west had to be reorganized. At a distance from the supreme authority of the King, it was certain that military jealousies, easily stirred against civil control, would soon reappear in redoubled intensity, and Hyde, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose ministerial authority was enforced by no commanding rank or aristocratic connection, was likely to feel the full brunt of those jealousies. It must have been with sore misgivings that Hyde, on March 4th, $164\frac{5}{4}$, took what was to be his last farewell of the master whose confidence had been extended to him unsought and had remained unbroken; his loyalty to whom, though often tried, had never been impaired; and to whom his advice had been given, always with honesty, and often with uncompromising frankness. He entered now upon one of the most harrowing and anxious of the many weary years that lay before him. The King's last words urged him to preserve the peace with Colepepper, whose jealous temper he knew as well as Hyde. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was confident enough in his own power of self-command to reassure the King, and by anticipation to take the blame upon himself, if any such quarrel should injure the interests of the cause.

[1] Sir Ralph Hopton and Colepepper had now been created Barons.

CHAPTER X

DISASTER TO THE ROYAL CAUSE

Hyde was not allowed to begin his journey westwards, and enter on a charge which was to be an arduous, a thankless, and a disheartening one, without having a foretaste of the treacherous dealing with which he would have to count, amongst the various contending cliques at the Court. He was unwilling to go, and begged the King that he might be suffered to stay at his side, where his duties as Chancellor of the Exchequer could alone be properly discharged. Richmond and Southampton had claimed exemption, although they belonged to the Council attached to the person of the Prince; and it seemed as if Hyde's official position gave him at least an equal claim to such exemption. It was only on the King's declaring that, unless he would go, the Prince must at all hazards remain at Court, that Hyde withdrew his objections. He knew well the suspicions that were rife as to the object of withdrawing the Prince. It was only, according to these reports, a first step towards withdrawing him from the kingdom. Such a withdrawal would seem to indicate reliance upon France, and to portend an armed foreign force, organized by the Queen's efforts, for the restoration of the power of the Crown, on terms satisfactory to the Roman Catholics. Whether this was so or not, the withdrawal of the Prince to a place of safety certainly made the King more independent of the Parliament, and less likely to be forced to come to terms. As a consequence of such

a move, it was only too probable that all overtures for peace would be laid aside. Hyde sympathized with those who desired to further such overtures, and probably dreaded that in his absence the King would be persuaded to follow a policy of determined resistance, and to recruit that resistance from sources—whether in Ireland or abroad—that would irretrievably break any hope of compromise.

But there were other influences at work. Through Digby, to whom every art of insinuation came easily, and who was never diverted from a plan because it was daring or hazardous, Queen Henrietta maintained her power, and pursued her own policy, at the Court of Oxford. Her residence in France had brought her into close relations with the Queen-Mother, and Mazarin's cunning for the moment induced him to pretend to be favourable to the Royalist cause. Henrietta formed new hopes, and these she would not sacrifice either to a desire to placate the Parliament, or to any scruples about running counter to Charles's fixed determination to give no ground for suspicions of his leaning to the papists. Hyde soon found that all his prudence would be required to guard him against the traps laid for him. Digby approached him, purporting to be the bearer of compliments from the King, who desired to express his high sense of Hyde's services, and who, as Digby pretended, was withheld from personally consulting him on a point of the highest moment only by the fear that Hyde would not agree with his own judgment. Hyde replied that he had always given his opinion freely, but that he would feel bound to carry out any order "that became an honest man," even though he did not believe it to be a wise one. Digby then dilated on the serious aspect of the King's affairs; the chances that a cessation of discord in the Parliamentarian ranks might range against the King an invincible, because united, army. In such a case, did

Hyde not think it would be wise to remove the Prince from England?

Hyde replied that such a contingency must undoubtedly be faced, and that if it occurred, and a real and not imaginary danger of the Prince falling into the hands of the Parliament arose, then it would certainly be right to transport him anywhere—to Turkey, if need be—in order to prevent his becoming the prisoner of Parliament. But such a design must be kept absolutely secret, and must never be carried into effect "upon any *supposition* of a necessity."

So far, Digby proceeded, they were all agreed; but there was something more. If the King's affairs went adversely, then he would be pressed by the nervous timidity of some of his friends, even more than by the enemy. In terror of the risks they themselves ran, they would urge the King to place, not the Prince only, but himself and all his children, in the hands of the Parliament. They would fear that the King's natural alarm would lead him to send the Prince to France, and in order to prevent such a design would press him to bring the Prince back to his own presence, or at least to issue peremptory orders against his quitting England. The result would infallibly be to make the King and his heir at once prisoners to Parliament, and to render the King powerless to press for terms, which he might do in reliance upon his heir being beyond their reach. These timid counsellors would secure their own object, which was to earn a claim upon the gratitude of the Parliament, whose game they would play so well.

Hyde was shrewd enough to detect the snare. Clearly, whatever orders the King might give as to the Prince remaining in England, these would be represented as based only on compulsion, and it would be urged that it was the duty of the Prince's Council to carry out, not the letter of the King's orders, but what they must conclude was his real

interest. That the King might convey such an indirect message to Hyde was evidently intended as a hint that he should not hereafter pay undue attention to written orders, but that, on any suspicion of danger, the Prince should be transferred to France. There the Queen and her Roman Catholic adherents might proceed, with such a hostage in their hands, to make terms for the King's security which might be little in accordance with his wish. Hyde was to be made a tool in the very policy which it was his first object to counteract. He turned upon Digby in words that implied the scorn of any honourable man for such trickery.

"He hoped," he said, "that the King had made up a firm resolution never to depart from his own virtue, upon which his fate depended; if he forsook himself, he had no reason to depend upon the constancy of any other man, who had nothing to support that confidence but the conscience of doing what was just."

If the King ordered his son to be carried out of the kingdom, to avoid his being taken by the rebels, he would not only obey the order, but advise its prudence. "But if the King, being at liberty, and with his own counsellors and servants, should under his hand forbid" such an act, he would never disobey such a command, once received. "He might take the boldness to conjure him never to put an honest and a faithful servant to that unjust strait, to do anything expressly contrary to his plain and positive command, upon pretence of knowing the secret pleasure." Such an "artifice was not worthy the royal breast of a great monarch." What he would do if an order were issued when the King was actually in duress, circumstances must decide.

These words tore through the whole sorry web of deceit. Hyde told Digby that he would be glad if the King spoke

to him, and that he would repeat to his Majesty the same views. But he suspected—and his suspicions were confirmed—that the guise of an emissary from the King was only assumed by Digby for the purpose which he and the Queen designed. There was no reason, as Hyde knew well, that the King should not speak to him directly, if at all. They had been in constant intercourse, and every detail of the Prince's journey had been privately discussed between the King and Hyde. Not a single word of this Jesuitical contrivance was breathed by the King to Hyde; and "concurrent circumstances," as he says with some sarcasm, convinced him that the whole was devised by the Queen, and promoted, under her orders, by Digby. Digby "tried to feel his pulse," and did not like the symptoms. The Queen and he learned now how little Hyde's dogged fidelity might be tampered with.

The Prince and his train set out on a day [1] of storm and rain from Oxford, and reached Bath in three days. There he stayed for two days before going on to Bristol. The wet journey, or the still worse anxieties, proved too much for Hyde's health. For the first time he had a severe attack of gout, which, during the harassing years that followed, again and again laid him aside. This time it was soon relieved.

The narrative of the next year is not only the most stormy and dramatic in incident, and the one most marked by the increasing disasters that pursued the Royalist cause; but it is also that in which, so far as the military history goes, Hyde was most directly interested. We have plenty of memoirs and documents which give us ample and not always consistent accounts; but that of Hyde transcends them all in its force and reality, and in its impression of candid truth. It is always, of course, possible to point

[1] March 4, 164⅝.

out small errors and inconsistencies, and for those who are out of sympathy with his views of the whole struggle, these small points naturally assume an exaggerated importance. But no one had a grasp of the influences underlying all the Royalist policy equal to that of Hyde, and no one adhered with more constancy to a certain consistent course. He could estimate the difficulties better than almost any one in that camp; and while absolute accuracy is manifestly impossible to one who attempted so large a survey as he after the lapse of years, only partisan prejudice can attribute to him any conscious desire to vary from what he believed to be the truth. The actual conduct of military affairs did not rest with him, and the details of failure and success do not come within the scope of his biography. But we have only to think what all the other narratives would be, without his, to recognize what we owe to the sweep and comprehensiveness of his survey of the march of events. It is the broad outlines only that we have to mark.

He begins his narrative with a sort of prologue of denunciation of the evils that had crept into the Royalist party, and of the dire effects they wrought. It has the intensity and moral weight of the chorus in a Greek tragedy. It was, he says—

"A time, in which the whole stock of affection, loyalty, and courage, which at first alone engaged men in the quarrel, seemed to be quite spent, and to be succeeded by negligence, inadvertency, and dejection of spirit contrary to the natural temper, vivacity, and constancy of the nation; and in which they who pretended most public heartedness, and did really wish the King all the greatness he desired to preserve for himself, did sacrifice the public peace, and the security of their master, to their own passions and appetites, to their ambition and animosities against each other, without the least design of treachery or damage towards his Majesty; a time in which want of discretion and mere folly produced

as much mischief as the most barefaced villainy could have done."

He proceeds in words which are all the graver because of his sincere and faithful loyalty.

"Nor is it possible to discourse of all these particulars, with that clearness that must subject them to common understandings, without opening a door for such reflections upon the King himself as shall seem to call both his wisdom and his courage into question, as if he had wanted the one to apprehend and discover, and the other to prevent, the mischiefs which threatened him. . . . And as he was always severe to himself, in censuring his own oversights, so he could not but well foresee that many of the misfortunes of this ensuing year would reflect upon some want of resolution in himself, as well as upon the gross errors and oversights, to call them no worse, of those who were trusted by him."

But even these reflections do not lessen the weight of his generous meed of admiration for the King.

"Without my being over-solicitous to absolve him from those mistakes and weaknesses to which he was in truth sometimes liable, he will be found not only a prince of admirable virtue and piety, but of great parts of knowledge, wisdom, and judgment; and that the most signal parts of his misfortunes proceeded chiefly from the modesty of his nature, which kept him from trusting himself enough, and made him believe that others discerned better, who were much inferior to him in those faculties."

He proceeds with the narration, in a proud spirit of personal impartiality.

"I know myself to be very free from any of those passions which naturally transport men with prejudice towards the persons whom they are obliged to mention, and whose actions they are at liberty to censure."

When the Prince and his Council proceeded towards the

west, it was with strong assurance of abundant help, and lavish undertakings as to financial contributions. But when they arrived at Bristol, it was soon found how empty these promises had been. No force had been brought together, no scheme for organizing possible resources of revenue had been devised. On the contrary, the Council found themselves immersed in a sea of ignoble quarrels and selfish personal jealousies. Such military forces as existed were honeycombed with factions, which agreed only in their consuming jealousy of the civilian members of the Council, and in their determination that whatever was undertaken should be under the sole direction of the military officers, and should aim at what would secure for them the reward which they believed themselves to have earned. Just at the moment when the Parliamentary forces were being reorganized in the only way consistent with prolonged military operations, the evils which from the first had been present amongst the Royalist levies became exaggerated into something like anarchy and disorder. The rumours that had reached them of Cromwell's New Model Army only gave food for ill-timed and ill-judged ridicule and contempt. Cromwell had discerned that the old levies by commissions of array, or militia ordinances, raised by separate counties, subject to separate local authorities, paid by the irregular contributions of their own districts, and conceiving that their duties were limited to those districts—were totally unfitted for the work they had to do. He had established the germ of a regular army—paid by national funds, owing allegiance to national authority, pledged, not to local, but to national service. The Royalist forces were more than ever casual in their assembling, and more ready to disperse themselves when they conceived that they had done their meed of duty. They were casually paid by contributions levied from each locality to defray the charges

of its own recruits. They were officered by men who were supposed to have local connection and local influence, and, as a consequence, were too often involved in local quarrels, that infected the different branches of the military force in the service of the King. That force was often found to consist only of an undisciplined horde, who conceived that every topic of personal jealousy was an adequate ground for freeing them from their allegiance, and that each danger threatened to their own possessions gave them a right to withdraw themselves for their defence.

The so-called Self-denying Ordinance was soon after (in April) assented to by the Lords, and the whole system of military commands on the Parliamentary side was fundamentally changed. The military fabric stood upon its own foundation, entirely separate from the Parliament. Nominally it was under Parliamentary control; but as the work in hand was one on which difference of opinion was certain to emerge at every turn, the dissidence of army and Parliament was inevitable, and it was easy to foresee with which the weight must lie. The Self-denying Ordinance was, indeed, a corollary of the New Model. Once a regular army was constituted, it was inevitable that its officers should be a body apart from the legislature. Only by that means could the fiction of subordination be maintained; and equally it was by that means alone that a separate entity, of overpowering strength, could come into existence. That Cromwell alone should at once maintain his seat in Parliament and his military command, was not so important as it might seem. It was no doubt useful for him that Parliament should still be open to him as a possible means of denouncing his enemies, and of browbeating a troublesome faction. It was convenient that he should seem to have that respect for Parliament which his membership implied. But in truth Cromwell had never been a Parliamentary

leader in the sense of Pym and Hampden, and now he ceased even to have an interest in Parliamentary affairs, except so far as these afforded an index of the prevailing feeling. His sphere of action was henceforward in the army and in the army alone. He had in it a machine of ever-developing force, while he had opposed to him an army in which all the inherent defects were day by day becoming more apparent. It was in the midst of its vain efforts, and in view of its new disasters, that Hyde had to do his best to maintain some consistency of policy.

Hyde is careful, in the grave denunciatory words with which he opens his narrative, to guard himself against being supposed to depict any "universal corruption." There were still wise and earnest men amongst the King's advisers. There were pure and ardent souls, like Lord Hopton and Lord Capel, of whose unselfish heroism we shall have full proof. There were still many whose deaths might be recorded in words like those which Hyde uses of the Earl of Lichfield, who fell, following two of his brothers who had already given their lives for their King, when Poyntz broke the King's force at Chester—"He was a very faultless young man, of a most gentle, courteous, and affable nature, and of a spirit and courage invincible." But for the mass of those who commanded what Hyde is compelled a few months later to describe as "a dissolute, undisciplined, wicked, beaten army"—"only terrible in plunder and resolute in running away"—it is difficult to say whether greed, arrogance, blundering, or debauchery was the most notable characteristic. Let us take a few specimens. There was Lord Goring whom we have met so often—now intent chiefly on quarrelling in turn with every colleague doomed to serve with him; thwarting, secretly or openly, the Council of the Prince; perpetually changing his plans, and sulkily standing aloof when the precise position which he

coveted was not assigned to him; constant only to that perpetual debauchery which was reducing his admitted military capacity to absolute uselessness; careless what rancours he might arouse so long as he gratified a passing humour, or inflicted some injury upon the personal enemy of the moment; perpetually appealing against the Council to the King, and yet affecting independence even of the King's authority. When complaints were made against his marauding soldiers, who made no distinction between friends and foes, he turned them off with an insult or a jest. The fishermen going to sell their fish at Exeter complained that they were plundered. "Why then," said Goring, "how you libel my soldiers by accusing them of proneness to swearing! If they were profane, how could they catch fish?" When Cornishmen were fighting under his command, in their own county, he stirred their just anger by his familiar treatment of Irish recruits, whom he would jocularly slap on the back, and tell them "they were each worth ten Cornish cowards." There was Sir Richard Grenville, also of admitted bravery and no small military talent, but so absorbed in love of money that he considered his command as little but a means of extortion, whether with or without some petty legal pretext; under whose authority loyal adherents of the King were fined or committed to prison, because they did not submit to some arbitrary fine or contribution. So far as he himself was concerned, he threw discipline to the winds, defied and even insulted the Council, attempted to challenge the express orders of the Prince, and was reduced to submission only when placed under arrest. It argues much for the loyalty of the simple souls who had groaned under his oppressions, that when stern measures were taken with him, they were the first to intercede on his behalf, and even to fret themselves into mutiny against those whom they deemed his persecutors. It is not

surprising to find Hyde provoked to impatience at such childish inconsistency.[1]

Nor were there wanting other unruly elements in the mixed crowd that gathered about the Prince. Young as he was, Prince Charles seems even thus early to have shown considerable shrewdness, and the power of making his authority felt. But his was to be a hard school of experience, and already flatterers and rogues had learned how to insinuate themselves into his good graces. At Bridgewater he found his former nurse, Mrs. Windham, whose pride and arrogance tempted her to assume an air of familiarity; who openly scoffed at the Council, and magnified the Prince at the expense of the King. In the midst of serious business it was a hard aggravation for Hyde to have to counteract the insolent promptings of an ill-natured and ill-bred woman; and at a later day her son, Colonel Windham, had equally to be excluded from the company of the Prince.[2] Even grosser agents of debauchery and corruption had to be excluded from that company by the ill-supported action of the Council.[3] It says much for Charles, and not less for Hyde, that a tutelage borne and exercised amidst such untoward circumstances, did not break down the barriers either of respect or of affection between the two. Whatever judgment we may pass on his later years, Charles undoubtedly

[1] Hyde in his letters shows us clearly enough his views of the generals. "Well, you generals are a strange kind of people," he begins, in writing to Goring from Bristol. He goes on to try to cajole and argue him into compliance with some reasonable scheme, and winds up thus: "For God's sake let us not fall into ill-humours, which may cost us dear. Get good thoughts about you, and let us hear speedily from you to a better tune; however, you will pardon the plainness of Your Lordship's, etc., EDWARD HYDE." In June he writes to Nicholas about Goring in plain terms enough. "If Lord Goring had been as much soldier as we expected, that work" (the reduction of Taunton) "had been done long before this time; but he nothing but drinks and plays."

[2] See *Rebellion*, ix. 19, 53.

[3] One Wheeler, whose character was of the most noisome baseness, managed for a time to get admittance to, and was with difficulty banished from, the Prince's Court.

gave proof, at this time, of no small mental acuteness, as well as of a physical strength which could endure fatigue and hardship with no undue repining. Few boys of fifteen could have risen so well to that delegated authority which, even if it was exercised under supervision, yet often called both for acuteness and for tact. The disappointments which met the Prince and his Council on their arrival at Bristol were quickly followed by fresh military disasters. More and more the troops of the Parliament pressed towards the west, until it looked as if the Royalist adherents were to be pent up in Cornwall. In the earlier stages of the war they had achieved success by preventing the Parliamentary forces from co-operating with one another. It was by similar tactics, pursued on a far more persistent system, and on a larger scale, that Fairfax and Cromwell now managed to crush them; and the disorganization of the Royalists rendered it easy. The King continued to show marvellous activity and undaunted courage; but even the partial success which, in the preceding years, had generally followed his own presence, now deserted him; and he found it hard to maintain any real discipline, or to rely upon co-operation amongst the various commanders in any common plan of campaign. Divided counsels; large tracts of country estranged by the repeated outrages of an undisciplined military horde, which made no distinction between friends and foes in their indiscriminate robbery; the anxiety of many to secure peace on any terms; above all, the hopelessness of obtaining the necessary contributions—all these were quickly wasting the last remnants of hope for the Royalist cause. But the King himself was the last to abandon that hope.

The Parliamentary forces gave him some respite, and pursued a mistaken plan of campaign, by engaging in the siege of Oxford—a long, an almost hopeless, and (even if successful) not likely to be a remunerative, task. This left

the King, who no longer remained at Oxford, free to move about the west and the midlands, and to make new attempts which would have been impossible if the Parliamentary troops had been entirely relieved of the tedious and useless business of besieging the fortified towns, and if every effort had been spent in active movements through the country, which must eventually force the Royalists to a decisive battle. A success was achieved at the end of May by the forces of the King, in the capture of Leicester; and the high hopes which were raised by Montrose's brilliant campaign in Scotland, tempted the King to march north, so as to recover his own influence in Yorkshire, and perhaps to combine with the Highland army under Montrose. But such an attempt was hopelessly belated. The Parliamentary armies were soon in full advance—at once to the north, to the midlands, and to the extreme west. The siege of Oxford was abandoned, and Charles found himself gradually hemmed in on every side. Only a fortnight after the seeming success at Leicester, Cromwell and Fairfax inflicted by far the most damaging defeat that it had yet suffered upon the King's army at Naseby, in the middle of June. The Royalist forces were hopelessly broken, and many of Charles's wisest followers were inclined to direct their measures as if they were in view of the inevitable defeat of their cause. Isolated efforts were in vain; but a most crushing blow to the King's hopes in the west came in the surrender of Bristol by Prince Rupert on September 11th. It was only two days later—on September 13th—that Montrose's army was utterly defeated by Lesley at Philiphaugh. On every side the clouds were gathering close, and every ray of hope was sinking into darkness. Nothing was left for the King and his most faithful adherents but to hold fast to their courage, to maintain their Standard as long as possible, and meanwhile, to make such attempts as were possible to

achieve a compromise by diplomacy, by dexterous management, and by appealing to those elements in the various warring parties amongst their foes, which seemed to offer the best prospect of obtaining tolerable terms.

The fall of Bristol had not only been a crushing blow to all his hopes; for Charles it had at last opened his eyes to the defects of his nephew, Prince Rupert, for whose sake he had long braved the discontent of those adherents who were jealous of Rupert's imperious temper and undue favour with the King. It was not only that Rupert had fallen short of his own undertaking that, for four months at least, he could hold Bristol against the enemy. The King knew that Rupert had been unduly ready to advise a treaty,[1] on any terms to be obtained, and he could not but suspect that his defence of the town had been half-hearted. From Hereford, where he had appointed such straggling remnants of the Royalist troops as could be mustered to meet him, Charles wrote to Rupert on September 14th, in words which show that the bitterness of disappointed affection and trust weighed even more with him than the loss of Bristol.

[1] Only in the previous month of August, the King had stated very plainly to Rupert his determination against further concessions, and had shown how resolved he was to fight to the end, and if need be, to die. "As for the opinion of my business," he writes, "and your counsel thereupon, if I had any other quarrel but the defence of my religion, crown, and friends, you had full reason for your advice. . . . Speaking as to mere soldier or statesman, I must say there is no probability but of my ruin; but as to Christian, I must tell you, that God will not suffer rebels to prosper, or His cause to be overthrown. . . . I cannot flatter myself with expectation of good success more than this, to end my days with honour and a good conscience; which obliges me to continue my endeavour, as not despairing that God may in due time avenge His own cause. . . . He that will stay with me at this time, must expect, and resolve, either to die for a good cause, or, which is worse, to live as miserable in the maintaining it, as the violence of insulting rebels can make him. . . . Having plainly told you my positive resolutions, which, by the grace of God, I will not alter, they being neither lightly nor suddenly grounded, I earnestly desire you not in any ways to hearken after treaties" (*History of Rebellion*, ix. 70). These are solemn words, spoken from the heart to one whom Charles held most dear; and the suspicion that they had been deliberately disregarded was enough to stir his bitterest indignation.

"Nephew," he wrote, "though the loss of Bristol be a great blow to me, yet your surrendering it as you did is of so much affliction to me, that it makes me not only forget the consideration of that place, but is likewise the greatest trial of my constancy that hath yet befallen me; for what is to be done, when one that is so near me as you are, both in blood and friendship, submitted himself to so mean an action? . . . I must remember you of your letter of August 12, whereby you assured me that, if no mutiny happened, you would keep Bristol for four months. Did you keep it for four days? Was there anything like a mutiny?"

He bids him withdraw beyond seas, and sends him a pass for the purpose; and ends with the words: "I shall have no greater joy in a victory than a just occasion without blushing to assure you of my being Your loving uncle, and most faithful friend, C.R."

But Charles knew well, however he might attempt to assume an appearance of courage to those around him, that the hope of victory in the field was now gone. It was not long before some of those whose waywardness and restlessness of counsel, as with Digby, or whose undisciplined arrogance and wanton profligacy, as with Goring, had done such injury to the cause, found means of withdrawing from the threatening danger. Digby escaped first to the Isle of Man, and thence to Ireland. Goring had already betaken himself to France. Rupert again after an interval presented himself to the King, and perhaps his presence once more persuaded Charles "to hearken after treaties." More than once Charles seems to have summoned Hyde to attend him,[1] but either the unwillingness of the Prince to spare him, or his now frequently recurring enemy, the gout, had prevented him from obeying the summons. He might, had his companionship been possible, have held the King more firmly to his purpose.

[1] In June, at Hereford (see letter from Hyde to Nicholas of June 25), and later at Raglan, in August (*Hist. of Rebellion*, ix. 73).

After five months of constant wanderings, amidst ever-increasing disasters in the field, from Naseby in June, to November, Charles once more returned to Oxford, for the last time. Two courses, not consistent, and not steadily pursued, now occupied all his efforts. A last attempt was to be made to rally such forces as were at his disposal; vain propositions were to be made to the Parliament for peace; and, failing these, new alliances were to be sought. When he first returned to Oxford, Charles was in no mind to yield to those who would have him compromise with his conscience, and he was evidently suspicious of those who had been willing to submit to degrading terms. Hyde was content to wait patiently for the result of the evident divisions amongst their foes, and would have prevented any surrender of principle. Whether he could have materially altered the course of affairs, had he been with the King throughout, must remain an insoluble problem.

In the west, a last effort, however hopeless, might be made. For this, the one most incorrupt spirit amongst all the Royalists was chosen; and he did not shrink from the task, however certain the disaster. In January it was decided that Lord Hopton should take the whole command upon him. With him, at least, there would be no selfish greed or ambition, and justice would be meted out to all with no thought of gain or self-aggrandisement.

"It was a heavy imposition, I confess," says Hyde, "to which nothing but the most abstracted duty and obedience could have submitted."[1] Hopton confessed to the Prince that "he could not obey his highness at this time without resolving to lose his honour, which he knew he must, but since his highness thought it necessary to command him, he was ready to obey him with the loss of his honour." As usual, Grenville raised a punctilio of personal prestige:

[1] *Rebellion*, ix. 135.

"He would not consent to be commanded by Lord Hopton." The limits of patience with such degrading selfishness were exhausted; Grenville was placed in custody at Launceston, and a few days later was permitted "to transport himself beyond the seas." Lord Wentworth raised similar scruples; but was told by the Prince that his orders were not to be scanned; he might submit or no; but must answer directly. He made a virtue of necessity, and did as he was told. Lord Capel joined himself to Hopton's chivalrous attempt. Hyde and Colepepper were left with the Prince, watching from day to day the hour when the toils might close round them so closely as to make escape from England a necessity. By letters in August, in September, in November, and in December, Charles had impressed upon the Council the necessity of being in readiness to carry the Prince either to Denmark or to France. The plan was not to be precipitate; but, above all, the danger of his falling into the hands of the rebels was to be guarded against. Charles felt that his last card would be played if not he only, but the heir to his crown, should be in the hands of those who laboured to annihilate his power. Now, on February 5th, while he admitted the soundness of the reasons for delay which had hitherto operated, and agreed that the Prince "was not to go until there be an evident necessity," he at the same time reiterated his commands that there should be no delay if the hazard were visible.

The Prince, he had always directed, was to be subject to the Queen's commands in all things except religion, where he was to be guided by the Bishop of Salisbury.[1] Hyde still disliked the thought of sending the Prince to France, which he knew would be distasteful to the nation, and would strengthen the hands of the Queen in carrying out schemes which he deemed fatal to the ultimate success of the Royal

[1] Dr. Duppa, formerly the Prince's tutor.

cause. But he had at last the definite commands of the King for the speedy departure of the Prince; and he could no longer doubt that the danger of capture was imminent. He found a medium course. Scilly was a part of Cornwall, and was technically in England; there for a time at least the Prince might await events; and if further danger threatened, he might easily be carried over to Jersey, still within the Kingdom, but not under the sway of Parliament. On March 2nd, Hyde and his charge set sail for Scilly. Hopton found his little army no longer amenable to discipline, and melting away before his eyes. It was useless to prolong the struggle. He gave his mutinous subordinates leave to treat; and himself joined the Prince in Scilly. Cornwall was virtually abandoned to the enemy.

There remained the alternatives of combination with some section of the rebels, and the formation of new alliances; and at these, as Hyde had little to do with them, we must glance very briefly. It is clear that he had little hope from any such schemes, and fully realized the dangers to which they were liable. There was first the possibility of an alliance with the Scots. Hyde himself had found in Cornwall one who professed himself ready to place his services at the King's disposal for the purpose. The Duke of Hamilton had been a prisoner at Pendennis Castle ever since his arrest at Oxford. He had the treatment suitable to his rank, and was kept under no very severe conditions; but he chafed at his enforced inaction. When the Prince visited the Castle, the Duke desired to have access to him, and he managed to have several long colloquies with Hyde. He represented how unfounded were the suspicions against him, and how glad he would be to assist the King against his enemies. His influence in Scotland was enormous; he was not unwilling to pit himself against Argyle, and he was ready to co-operate even with his old enemy Montrose. But if he were to exert

JAMES HAMILTON, FIRST DUKE OF HAMILTON.

(From the original by Sir Anthony Vandyke, in the collection of the Duke of Hamilton.)

his influence to any purpose, it was absolutely necessary that he should be set at liberty, and that his presence in Scotland should attest the reality of his resolution to support the King, and should animate his followers with the same desire. Hyde trusted neither the Duke himself, nor the nation to which he belonged. He was courteous, but frankly avowed that he could give no advice in favour of the Duke's proposals. If the Duke desired to help the King he must give an earnest of that desire by writing to his adherents in Scotland. Until that was done, he could not advise that a freedom, which he might easily misuse, should be granted. Upon others who were in attendance on the Prince, the Duke made more impression; but Hyde and the Council retained their suspicions. Plainly Hyde disliked, not the agent only, but the scheme of the alliance which he offered. At the best, it offered hopes that could be realized only by a betrayal of the Church, from which Hyde shrank as strongly as the King. Matters thus drifted on. The Duke was set free when Pendennis Castle fell into the hands of the Parliament. He made his way to London; and lived—as Hyde is fain to admit—to show the sincerity of his new-found loyalty, and to give his life in proof of his attachment to the Royalist cause.

The first effort on the part of the King, which, bold as it was, was clearly only an effort of despair, was to propose a personal treaty in London. He was ready to come himself to treat with the Parliament at Westminster, attended by a retinue restricted to three hundred. The hazard he ran, in spite of any safe conduct which the Parliament could give, was evident. The only hope was that his presence might animate those who secretly detested the new tyranny, and might stimulate the distrust that was rife between sections which were as yet fairly evenly balanced. That it should lead to any compromise which would be consistent

with the retention of any real authority in the Crown was obviously hopeless.

The next plan was the project of an alliance with the Independents, based upon their deep-rooted hatred of the Presbyterians, whose rigid intolerance excluded all thought of compromise with any other form of religion than that established by the Covenant. Charles's hopes of any such alliance were based only upon his ignorance of their real aims, and of the dominant ambitions of those like Vane, Cromwell, and Ireton, who swayed their counsels. "They were a faction newly grown up, and with which he was utterly unacquainted." [1] He could see in their jealousy of the Presbyterians some hope for the Church; but he did not measure the extent to which they were prepared to go in revolution in the State. It was his fixed conviction that "nothing was more impossible than that the English nation should submit to any other than monarchical government." [2] To Hyde any such alliance seemed little else than a chimera.

Another, and an even more dangerous device, was that of procuring help from Ireland. If terms of settlement could be made with the rebels there, abundant troops might be set free to aid the Royalists' cause in England, and hopes might be vaguely cherished of drawing assistance even from those, in a pacified Ireland, who had previously been looked upon only as irreconcilable foes. How far such hopes took shape in any deliberate scheme can probably never be settled. That Charles ever conceived those extravagant schemes attributed to him, in the frenzy of partisanship, by the Parliamentary leaders, of crushing the Parliament and re-establishing Episcopacy in close alliance with Papacy, must be absolutely dismissed by any sane historian. But, short of this, how far he was prepared to go in order to produce pacification by granting a certain measure of toleration

[1] *Rebellion*, ix. 167. [2] *Ibid.*

to the Irish Roman Catholics, it is impossible to say, for the very simple reason that he himself probably formed no very definite scheme. To balance phrase against phrase in a long series of tangled transactions, and upon such nice calculations to establish charges of bad faith, is only to waste time, and totally to misconceive the rough logic that sways human affairs amidst the clash of arms, and the desperate expedients of a civil war. Such matters are not to be poised with the delicate precision of a legal document. We must frame our judgment upon a broad survey of the facts. That the King contemplated any compromise with Roman Catholicism as a State religion is absurd. It was against all his strongest convictions and predilections.[1] But he may well have perceived—what it was the evil genius of England that prevented the nation at large from perceiving—that a certain measure of toleration for that religion in Ireland was rendered inevitable by the logic of facts and the irrefutable dictates of humanity, which transcend the most cherished prejudices, and impress themselves even upon the most unwilling consciences. In the secret counsels of destiny it was fated that they would, to the immeasurable detriment of both countries, take long to translate themselves into actual fact; but that Charles should have perceived them, even though it was under the pressure of his own accumulating difficulties, and perceived them perhaps more fully than he himself recognized, is not a matter of blame to him. It is quite possible that, in his instructions to Glamorgan,[2] he

[1] "As for the Irish," he says in the letter to Prince Rupert, of August, 1645, "I assure you they shall not cheat me; but it is possible they may cozen themselves; for, be assured, what I have refused to the English, I will not grant to the Irish rebels" (*Hist. of Rebellion*, ix. 70).

[2] Hyde is strangely silent on the matter in his *History*, and it is not unfair to infer that he was nervous as to its effects and suspicious as to its bearings. He writes from Jersey, in 1647, to Nicholas: "A King may be gracious to his Catholic subjects, and be willing by any means to unite them to his service, without any immoderate inclination to their opinions. Yet I must tell you I care not how little I say on that business of Ireland, since

made concessions to this tendency, involving dangers more serious, and surrenders of principle more far-reaching, than he knew himself. Necessity is a hard master. Glamorgan[1] undoubtedly was tempted to go beyond his instructions, under pressure from the Papal nuncio, and through the stubbornness of the Irish rebels. Misunderstanding might easily arise amidst such desperate straits, and phrases might perhaps creep in that had a semblance of bad faith and shifty policy. But a pacification was indubitably necessary if it could be attained; and we, who recognize how fully, how absolutely, just such toleration was, according to the complacent superiority of a more modern intelligence, must not be in haste to condemn what seemed to concede it with undue precipitancy, under the pressure of imperious necessity.

But undoubtedly such concessions were out of harmony with the dominant spirit of the time, and we need not be surprised that Hyde was doubtful about them, and felt that they were dangerous to the best interests of the King himself.

those strange powers and instructions given to your favourite, Glamorgan, which appear to me so inexcusable in justice, piety, and prudence; and I fear that there is much in that transaction of Ireland, both before and since, that you and I were never thought wise enough to be advised with in. . . . Those stratagems have given me more sad hours than all the misfortunes in war which have befallen the King, and look like the effects of God's anger towards us" (Clarendon, *State Papers*, ii. 337). But those who blame the King most severely, and dwell on his minister's condemnation as conclusive of Charles's wrongdoing, must remember that Hyde spoke as one to whom the merits of universal toleration were not apparent, and whose evidence they, as champions of toleration, are not entitled to call in their own support.

[1] Edward Somerset was the son of the Earl of Worcester, and was born in 1601. In his earlier years he was known as Lord Herbert, but was in 1644 created Earl of Glamorgan, and received ample powers as military commander for the suppression of the Irish Rebellion, with lavish promises of reward for success. How far his commission went, and whether he exceeded it, in his concessions to the Roman Catholics, cannot be pronounced with certainty; but he was disavowed by the King, and, at the same time, suffered severely from the Parliament. His estates were sequestered, and Worcester House, his London mansion, was occupied by Cromwell. In 1646 he succeeded his father, who had been created Marquis of Worcester. He returned from exile at the Restoration, and survived till 1667, but his later life was occupied with mechanical pursuits, in which he attained proficiency, a claim having even been advanced for him, as the first inventor of a steam engine.

They were favoured by the Queen and her adherents, and this was, in itself, enough to condemn them in Hyde's eyes, as he knew how little trust was to be placed in that faction, and how hopelessly it was out of sympathy with the general drift of English thought. It was another sign of that weakness which Hyde thought fatal to the best hopes of the Crown.[1] Patience and firmness, with a consistent policy, were, in his eyes, the only stand-by; but they would probably suffice only to preserve the King's conscience and his good name—not his power and his royal dignity.

The next device was that of an alliance with the Scots by the mediation of France. We have already seen how Hyde had received the overtures from the Duke of Hamilton; and his dislike of this alliance was in accordance with the views he had consistently held as to the hopelessness of any secure confederacy based upon concessions to Presbyterianism which he considered to be inconsistent with the King's conscientious belief, and with the deep-rooted essential adherence of the English nation to its own Church. But since the death of Richelieu and Louis XIII, the influence of Queen Henrietta had greatly increased at the Court of France. Mazarin, whose power was now secure, affected to dread the growing domination of Parliament, and the Queen-Mother was at least friendly to Queen Henrietta. A means of reconciliation now appeared to offer through concessions to the Scottish Presbyterians which would not militate against the hopes of the Roman Catholics, and might indeed help them, by depressing the influence of Anglican Episcopacy. To Henrietta the difference between Presbyterianism and Anglican Episco-

[1] Hyde's general view as to concessions is shortly and pithily expressed by him in a letter to Sir John Berkeley (printed in vol. iii. p. 47 of Lister's *Life*). "To my understanding I must still say the question is not, nor of a long time hath been, whether he should perish with all his regalities, or, by parting with some, preserve himself and the rest . . . but whether he will perish before he parts with them . . . or perish after he hath parted with them."

pacy was of little importance, and she would not have been unwilling that the leanings of the Presbyterians towards the monarchy should be made use of for the restoration of the King's civil prerogative, at the price of concessions to their religious views. With a strange perversity, she refused to recognize the attachment of the King to the Church, for which he was prepared to sacrifice not his prerogative only, but his life. By her contrivance, new steps were taken to patch up an agreement which was doomed to failure. A new Ambassador, Montreuil, was despatched to England, nominally to enter into negotiations between the Court of France and the Parliament, but in reality to promote some dealings with the Scots, pledging the influence of France to secure the performance of mutual engagements between the King and the Presbyterians. From the first it was evident that no settlement would commend itself to the Scots which did not guarantee the establishment of Presbyterianism in England. This seemed to the Queen and her advisers a small price to pay for an alliance which must break the power of Parliament. But equally from the first, it was plain that no such concession could be obtained from the King; and Hyde looked with misgiving upon a scheme which would surrender what he regarded as the most essential point of Royalist policy, and which would effectually flout and discourage the deep-rooted sympathy with the national Church which Hyde regarded as the means certain, sooner or later, to bring the national aspirations into line with the policy of the Crown. When Montreuil laid his proposals before the King, he was definitely informed that no such concession to the Presbyterian demands could be made. The promise of the Queen was adduced against this refusal, and her own written words were sufficient proof of that promise. In these words, says Hyde, "there were such expressions concerning religion as nothing pleased the King, and made him look upon that

negotiation as rather a conspiracy against the Church between the Roman Catholics and the Presbyterians than as an expedient for his restoration or preservation." It increased the suspicions which he already felt of some of his adherents, and taught him what dangers were to be faced if the Prince were conveyed to France, and became subject to such pernicious counsellors.

The insuperable difficulties which stood in the way of any such agreement were not allowed to put an end to what all might judge as a possible, and which some hailed as a favourable, opportunity for reviving hopes for the King's cause. We can imagine the difficulties of the adroit French diplomatist in his efforts to bring about an agreement between the dour and doughty champions of militant Presbyterianism and the conscientious scruples of the King. Each seemed, doubtless, to him to be contending for varieties in heresy which he held of infinitesimal moment, and to be abandoning the stupendous secular objects which both professed to have at heart. By not conceding the demands of Presbyterianism, Charles was abandoning his Crown; by insisting on their special brand of heresy the Scots were paving the way for their own subjection to the Independents of the army. Between negotiators who would emperil so much for what he deemed so little, the dexterities of the French diplomat laboured in vain.

If diplomacy could do little, armed resistance could do still less for the Royalist cause. Lord Astley gathered a feeble force from the remaining garrisons of the west, and marched from Worcester to Oxford to meet the King. There was no time for conveying orders or making secure arrangements for a rendezvous. The two bodies missed one another, and at Stow-on-the-Wold, Astley was attacked by a far superior force. Resistance was impossible; and Astley had nothing for it but to surrender himself as prisoner. He

admitted to his captors that the struggle was over. "You have now done your work," he told them, "and may go play, unless you will fall out among yourselves." [1] "The few that escaped were so scattered and dispersed, that they never came together again, nor did there remain, from that minute, any possibility for the King to draw any other troops together in the field." [2]

[1] Rushworth, vi. 141. The date was March 22, 164§.
[2] *Rebellion*, ix. (at end).

CHAPTER XI

DEFEAT OF THE ROYALIST CAUSE

When Hyde quitted England in 1646 for what was destined to be a fourteen years' banishment, the outlook for the King was already poor enough. There were, as Hyde himself puts it, "no seeds of hope left." The negotiations with the Scots were still proceeding; but from them Hyde presaged little good; and the result showed how true were his forebodings. Had the King been able, by any possible device, to draw five thousand men together, he would rather, so Hyde tells us,[1] have perished in a hopeless attempt upon the Parliamentary forces than have waited for any conditions that were likely to be made after the long-drawn attempts at a treaty. It seemed for a time as if it might be possible to bring such a number together, and it was a vain hope of French assistance to this extent, which had been delusively held out, that had kept the Prince from sailing to Scilly till Fairfax was within twenty miles of him. But even this delusive prospect, like other hopes from France, was now entirely dispelled.

The Prince and his companions—including Hopton and Capel, who soon joined Hyde and Colepepper—were far from being safe at Scilly. The defences were scanty. Ships of the Parliamentary fleet were cruising in the neighbourhood; and the soldiers upon whose help the little Court had to depend, were Cornishmen, and could not be trusted to hold

[1] *Rebellion*, x. 2.

out long after Cornwall surrendered to Fairfax, which must be a matter of weeks, if not of days. The supplies were short, and there was difficulty in obtaining means of subsistence. Clearly they, as guardians of the Prince's safety, could make no long stay there. By the middle of April they managed to elude the Parliament's ships of war, and landed safely in Jersey. Just before they started, there had been twenty-seven or twenty-eight of these ships compassing the island, only the dispersal of which by an opportune storm gave the fugitives the chance they desired. While their escape was still doubtful, the Prince produced a letter from the King, which had been written just before the fatal blow of Naseby, and which he had been enjoined to keep to himself until the last crisis should arrive. In it Charles bade his son never, in the case of the King being taken prisoner, to yield to any condition dishonourable, unsafe for himself, or derogatory to the royal authority, in the vain hope of saving his father's life.

"To save my life by complying with them," wrote the King, "would make me end my days with torture, and disquiet of mind, not giving you any blessing, and cursing all the rest who are consenting to it. But your constancy will make me die cheerfully, praising God for giving me so gallant a son, and heaping my blessings on you."

Apprized of this letter, the Council could have no alternative but to remove the Prince from the clutches of the rebels. The choice lay between Jersey and France; and the objections to France were, in the minds of Hyde and his fellow-councillors, insuperable. Jersey was safe at least from any present attempt, and it had the incontestable advantage of being technically within the Kingdom of England. The King's adherents could still rest assured that the fate of the heir to the Crown was not in foreign hands. The Queen was anxious, as she had always been, that his

destination should be France. But she knew the objections of the Council; and in a letter of April 5th, she only insisted that he should be removed to Jersey, pledging the faith of the Queen Regent of France, that should he be compelled to put into a French port, he should receive a good reception there. In her heart, she wished Jersey only to be a stage on his journey to France.

Colepepper repaired to France for further conference with the Queen: and on his return Hyde found that he had been largely converted to the views of the Queen and her Court. In Jermyn, Queen Henrietta had one who ardently furthered her views; and from this time Hyde, in conjunction with Hopton and Capel, had a long struggle against what they rightly deemed to be the fatal policy of the Queen, backed up by Jermyn and Colepepper. Soon after, Jermyn communicated to them a letter from the King, of March 22nd, which assumed that the Prince was now with his mother in France, and which bade him be guided by her in all things, except in regard to the vital matter of religion. Hyde rightly feared that the exception was one too large to be very carefully observed; and he was well aware that its breach would have dissolved for ever the hopes of a Royalist revival.

Meanwhile, a diversion of a new kind arose from the ever-active brain, and sanguine temperament, of Digby. We have seen already how he had escaped, after defeat in the field, to the Isle of Man, and thence to Ireland; and while Capel and Colepepper[1] were dispatched on a mission to the Queen, to explain the doubts of the Council, a new scheme was started by Digby. He had conceived vast hopes of efficacious assistance to the Royal cause from Ireland. If only the Prince were there, all factions would be reduced; his English adherents would flock to his standard; the Irish

[1] Colepepper could hardly be counted as a faithful exponent of views with which he was not now in sympathy.

rebels would return to their allegiance; the papal nuncio would abate his extravagant pretensions. By a sort of happy magic all that Glamorgan's unwise concessions had failed to achieve was to be accomplished without difficulty. To this end Digby arrived at Scilly, full of his new scheme, but only to find that the Prince had just gone to Jersey, and there he followed him. Even the delay involved in considering so novel an expedient only served to make Digby the more impatient, and in no way lessened his sanguine faith in his own scheme. The Prince explained that he must await the return of Capel and Colepepper, and further orders from the King. Digby fretted at the want of enterprise that would not immediately embrace such an opportunity. He was sure he could persuade the Queen; delay would only dissipate the bright hopes that awaited them in Ireland. He had further talk "with one of the privy council," whom we may safely take to be Hyde—and while he lamented the loss of this occasion, he inveighed with the utmost bitterness, in terms no doubt intended to capture Hyde's confidence, against any scheme of sending the Prince to France.[1] So strongly did he feel the ruin such a scheme involved, that he declared himself ready to entice the Prince on board his frigate, and then sail with him to Ireland, whether with his will or no. Hyde condemned any such scheme, and showed that he was determined to prevent it. But opposition never daunted Digby, and he was confident that by going to France, he would soon persuade the Queen to abandon her own ideas and join cordially in his own.

"Transported with this happy auguration, he left Jersey; leaving at the same time his two ships, and half a dozen gentlemen of quality (who upon his desires and

[1] At this time Digby was as keenly alive as Hyde to the dangers of any tampering with Roman Catholicism. We shall see, at a later day, how his attitude changed.

many promises, had kept him company from Ireland) without one penny of money to subsist on during his absence."

Digby was true to his own character throughout. The envoy, who was to persuade all in the Queen's Court to adopt his own scheme with enthusiasm, was soon captive in the hands of a far more wily diplomatist. The Queen was as determined as ever that her son should join her in France; and she had an able, but astute, ally in Mazarin. He knew Digby's foible, and flattered him to the top of his bent. He was full of protestations of warm friendship for the English Crown. They in France, according to the Cardinal, had learned the error of their ways in suffering the King to be oppressed by his enemies. "The Crown of France was to wed the Crown of England;" but a necessary preliminary was that the person of the Prince should be in France. It was, of course, purely in the interest of the Prince himself that this condition was pressed. Once he was there, an ambassador would be sent to England to state to the Parliament the peremptory demands of France, and failing a speedy answer, to declare war. An army would at once be ready, and at the head of such a force as would leave nothing in doubt, the Prince would "have the honour to redeem and restore his father." The Cardinal professed to know fresh dangers which the Prince ran; and he took care that a letter from himself to Condé should come into the hands of the Queen, in which he told how some persons "about the Prince in Jersey," were ready to surrender him to the Parliament for twenty thousand pistoles.[1] The letter was conveyed to Jersey, and Hyde saw what construction would be placed upon his refusal to assent to the removal to France.

The scheme now propounded was skilfully adjusted to the volatile mood of Digby; to him a noble part was assigned,

[1] *Rebellion*, x. 18.

and it was just such as served to attract his enthusiastic support. Ireland and its promises were at once forgotten, and he became a sworn and whole-hearted advocate for the French plan, which he had so unsparingly denounced to Hyde only a few days before. With something of grim humour, Hyde tells the story, of which he saw the amusing, as well as the dangerous side. Digby returned to Jersey to paint the result of his mission in the brightest colours. He told Hyde all that the Cardinal had said, "not leaving out any of the expressions of the high value his eminence had of Digby's particular person." Everything had been trusted to Digby, even to the selection of an ambassador. It was all so hopeful, that "he conjured his friend to concur in that advice, which would be very grateful to the Queen, and be attended with much benefit to himself." The Queen was "confident of his service;" but whether Hyde agreed or no, the Prince, Digby was certain, "would obey his mother."

Hyde, "who in truth loved him very heartily, though no man better knew his infirmities," remained unmoved by Digby's blandishments as well as by his threats. He refused to accept the lavish promises of Mazarin, and reminded Digby how he himself had been formerly deceived by promises from the same quarter. For himself, he profoundly distrusted them, and remained of his old opinion. Before he agreed to the removal, he must have the authority of the King.

The news now reached both France and Jersey, not only that the King had delivered himself to the Scots,[1] and had been removed with the Scottish army to Newcastle, but that he was kept by them in virtual imprisonment. His friends were carefully excluded from any intercourse with him, and Ashburnham, his gentleman of the bed-chamber, who had accompanied him in the midnight ride from Oxford

[1] April 27, 1646.

to join the Scots at Newark, was not only debarred from access to his master, but had narrowly escaped becoming a prisoner in the hands of Parliament. Montreuil had found himself no longer well received by the Scots, with whom he had arranged the ill-fated compact between them and the King, and he had been glad to sail for France in a Dutch ship. He brought a letter from the King which Jermyn and the Queen interpreted as confirming his previous injunctions that the Prince should take refuge in France. Ashburnham knew of no such commands, and doubted the wisdom of the scheme. Capel offered, at the risk of his freedom and his life, to make a journey to Newcastle, and receive the King's commands. But the Queen was positive in her own opinion, and would now brook no delay. Jermyn —who possessed authority as titular governor of Jersey— Wilmot, and others were dispatched with Colepepper and Capel to execute her commands.

It was in June that the emissaries of the Queen, and their large train of attendants, arrived at Jersey, bearing letters for the Prince. The Queen urged the danger of his present situation—a danger which Hyde did not believe to exist— and the express and reiterated commands of the King, as the grounds on which she required him to make haste to join her in France. The Council did not abandon their position without a final effort. A conference was held at which Jermyn and Digby assumed that there could be no hesitation in obeying the Queen's commands. The members of the Council argued that they, and they alone, were accountable to the King, and to the Kingdom, for the movements of the Prince. They could admit no others to that Council, and they must insist upon fully debating the grounds of the proposal, the terms and conditions of the King's orders, and the reasons for thinking that Jersey was unsafe. Capel gave a full account of his mission, of his representations to

the Queen, of his doubts of the good faith of the French promises, and of the Queen's readiness, as expressed to him, to await explicit directions from the King. High words ensued between the two parties at the board. Hyde, Capel, and Hopton were immovable in their opinion, while the others urged as strongly the necessity of yielding obedience to the Queen. The dispute was ended only by the Prince yielding to the arguments of Digby and his supporters, and declaring that he was resolved "to comply with the commands of the Queen, and forthwith remove into France." Further argument became, to use Hyde's own words, "not only useless, but indecent." There was nothing for it, but to accept the inevitable. But Hyde, Hopton, and Capel could not bring themselves to join in a removal which they no longer felt able to prevent. They took leave of the Prince with all expressions of duty. Contrary winds prevented him from starting for France for three or four days. During that interval, the Prince saw much of his Council, and fully understood their loyalty to his interests; but between the two factions there was open rupture. It was hardly to be expected that councillors so tried and so faithful as Hyde, Hopton, and Capel, should lightly submit to have their policy flouted by the selfish intrigue of Jermyn, the unstable caprices of Digby, and the perverse contrariety of Colepepper. They fully appreciated the ill-effect of the departure for France, both upon the nation at large, and upon the most trustworthy of the Royalists. Nor was there wanting another, even graver, ground of suspicion as to the intentions of the Queen and the stratagems of Mazarin. It was upon the faith of a compact made by Montreuil with the Scots that the King had placed himself in their hands. Already it was apparent that that compact had conveyed to the Scots expectations of the King's surrender of Episcopacy, and submission to Presbyterianism, for which Charles had given

no warrant, and against which he would struggle to the end. His purpose was fixed to be a martyr, if need be, for the Church, and from that one purpose, at least, he never wavered. Montreuil was disavowed by Mazarin; but his place as ambassador was taken by Bellièvre, who had lived long in England, who knew the intricacies of the various factions, and whose sympathies were evidently strong against the King. Concessions, it was now evident, had been indicated by the emissary acting on behalf of the French Court, far beyond any that the King was prepared to make. Upon these concessions Bellièvre was instructed to insist with the King; and the King's conscientious scruples were treated with a disregard that told, only too plainly, of the influence of the Queen, who deemed his attachment to his Church a vain dream for which he was sacrificing a substantial reality. The King was becoming more and more estranged from the new ambassador, and the hardships to which his sojourn in the hands of the Scots exposed him, only fixed him more firmly in his resolution, and convinced him that he owed not a little of the downfall in his fortunes to the shifty diplomacy of the French Court. His anxiety for the Prince's safety might have made him contemplate his removal to France; but it was by no means sure that he would have assented to it had he known the security of Jersey; and it was certain that he would have peremptorily forbidden it had he known that it was associated with a scheme of surrender of the Church, which it was the dominating principle of his life to resist. With these feelings Hyde strongly sympathized; and in addition he saw, with far more perspicacity than the King, how ill would be the consequence of a French connection upon the most stalwart of his English adherents.

The schemes of the Queen were soon made even more clear. On the failure of Bellièvre to convert the King, she

sent a strange emissary for the purpose, in the person of Sir William Davenant.[1] That wayward votary of the muses shares with Waller and Suckling, the honour, such as it was, of a brief and ill-fated excursion into the domain of politics; and that it should have been specially concerned with ecclesiastical politics, makes his selection stranger still. He was commissioned by the Queen to obtain access to the King and explain to him the ill-consequences of his misplaced scruples. By the mediation of the French ambassador, Davenant readily obtained access to the King, and urged that he should part with the Church for his peace and security; arguing that this was the opinion of all his friends. "What friends?" asked the King. Jermyn was the first adduced; but the King told him "that Jermyn did not understand anything of the Church." Jermyn himself would have been amused at such a use of his authority. Lord Colepepper was the next cited; but the King told him "that Colepepper had no religion." "Was the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Hyde) of that opinion?" Davenant "did not know; Hyde was absent, and had deserted the Prince," and he told of the Queen's displeasure against Hyde. "Hyde," answered the King, "was an honest man, and would never desert him, nor the Prince, nor the Church; he was sorry he was not with his son, but his wife was mistaken." Davenant rashly urged some slighting opinions of his own upon the Church, but this broke the patience of the King. "His Majesty was transported with so much passion and indignation that he gave him more reproachful terms and a sharper reprehension than he ever did towards any other man; and forbade him to presume to come again into his

[1] Sir William Davenant won his fame in other spheres than those of politics. He was born in 1606, the son of an Oxford innkeeper, unless we accept the story, which Davenant himself did not vigorously combat, of a more illustrious paternity. His mother was on good terms with Shakespeare, who often stayed at the inn.

presence." Poor Davenant for once felt that his wit was baffled, and that he was involved in currents which he could not navigate. He returned to France, a diplomatist whose mission had egregiously miscarried.

Hyde, with his friends Capel and Hopton, remained in Jersey, conscious that the charge with which they had been trusted by the King was now at an end. They wrote to him a dignified letter explaining their position, renewing their pledge of loyal service, and their readiness to obey his commands when necessity arose. Their fears were soon realized in the cold reception accorded to the Prince in France, where he was neglected, and found himself in complete dependence on the Queen and her pernicious circle of adherents. Mazarin's wiles had succeeded, and with the Prince in his power, he found his hands free to mould the affairs of England in conformity with the interests of France. His emissaries had involved the King in the toils of the ill-fated trust in the Scots. Under the pressure of his new jailers the King issued orders to Montrose to cease his campaign, and to Oxford and the few garrisons that still remained to him in England, to surrender. He found his adherents in Scotland treated with ruthless barbarity by the very men who now held his person in their power.

In October, Hyde and his friends had reason to know the deeper danger of the trust in Mazarin's promises, and the sordid aims of those who possessed the confidence of the Queen. They found that there was a project, set on foot by Jermyn, in consideration of a bribe, and probably some delusive offer of effective assistance to the English Crown, to surrender Jersey to the French. In view of such a scheme, they soon took active measures of resistance. They pledged their own security to Carteret, the acting Governor, for the cost of improving the fortifications. They sent to the Dutch to invoke their assistance against France, and they

pledged themselves that, sooner than allow an English possession to fall into foreign hands, they would denounce the scheme to Parliament. For themselves they had nothing to hope. They had broken with Parliament beyond all possibility of condonement; but sooner than be parties to such national treachery, they would appeal to the only power in England that could defend her territory. It was an act of which they had every reason to be proud, and it showed that there were limits even to their adherence to a party. The project was abandoned.

It was not long before they learned the fatal issue of the ill-omened surrender to the Scots, which had taken place on the faith of a misunderstood and impossible compact. In January, after the King's sojourn with the Scots had crushed his spirit, had forced him to experience ill-treatment such as he had never felt before, and had brought pressure on him to dissolve the elements of resistance that still remained true to him, he was delivered over to the Parliament in consideration of a payment of £400,000, of which half was paid at once. It is idle to seek for excuses for the sordid bargain. It was a transaction of which every Scotsman must feel profoundly ashamed; and no dexterity of artful apology can wipe out the wholesome verdict of humanity upon an episode so despicably mean. Scotland's temporary leaders proved how ill they represented the national character, and their action roused the nation's disgust.

The last of the English garrisons, one by one, had given up their hopeless resistance, and before the end of autumn none remained. With a natural sympathy for stalwart resistance, even when it went beyond the limit of political prudence, Hyde learned with some pleasure that those who held out longest obtained as good terms as any. Amongst those who doggedly maintained a forlorn hope was the garrison of the castle of Pendennis, in Cornwall. It had been

defended by the most staunch of the Cornish gentlemen, and amongst them was one notable—Sir Harry Killigrew. From first to last the bluff Cornishman had never yielded one jot to those whom his rough loyalty counted as mischief mongers, and his honesty had won him Hyde's warm friendship when they had met in the Long Parliament. Killigrew was no courtier although he had the esteem of courtiers; he was no adept in political controversy, and was only politician enough to loath those who preached disloyalty. When the House had levied an army, and made Essex their general, there were those who from policy or fear announced what men in arms they would maintain. Killigrew rose and said: "He would provide a good horse, and a good buff coat, and a good pair of pistols, and then he doubted not but he should find a good cause." He was too popular a man to be an easy object of violence; but such a note of defiance was too bold not to call for vengeance. He stalked from the House, took horse to Cornwall, and there joined the gallant band of Cornishmen, who gave Hopton the means of a resistance that defied all the efforts of Parliament for four years. Killigrew sought no command, and only asked to be where the danger was greatest, and the fighting fiercest. For a good comrade he had a ready wit and a humour that no risks or hardships could quench; for a laggard he had a tongue sharp enough to make the coward shun his company. He had no mind to compromise, and reckoned the moderate man as only one step from the rebel. In Hyde's pages we see the portrait of the bluff, hot-tempered, frank, free-spoken cavalier, painted to the life. The final surrender doubtless tried his spirit, and it must have been in hot blood that he discharged the "good pistols" that were to serve his King no more. As he did so, one of them played him the ill trick of bursting, and a splinter inflicted a bad wound in his forehead. In his usual mood he made

light of the hurt, and insisted upon sailing for St. Malo, whence he hoped to join his friends at Jersey, before the surgeon permitted. Hyde, Capel, and Hopton, all knew his worth, and were glad to welcome him. They waited his coming with impatience, and when the ship, sent to fetch him from St. Malo, put into the harbour, they hastened to meet him. But to their grief the wound had proved fatal at St. Malo just as he was about to sail, and on board the ship they found only the coffin that held his body. The gallant soldier had not long survived the surrender that he hated worse than death. Hyde dwells on the episode, which doubtless served to make more real to him the extinction, for many a year, of all the hopes of the master he had served so well.

It was now only from a distance, and with no active work to distract him, that Hyde was able to watch the progress of events. He was, indeed, in constant touch with the other members of his party, both in England, in Ireland, and in France. But he could only guess the turn that matters took by comparing the fragments of conflicting news that reached him. It soon became clear that the breach between the Presbyterians and the Independents had given place to the far more serious and deadly breach between the Parliament and the army. Cromwell had a difficult part to play in reconciling the aims of a triumphant House of Commons, which must be humoured for a while longer in the furtherance of the drastic work of political revolution, with the sterner forces of the great military engine which he had fostered into strength, and which must now be subdued to his own will. He had need of all his vast powers of dissimulation in order to play the diverse parts of the possible friend of the King, of the political revolutionary, and of the stern military disciplinarian, until the time should be ripe for him to throw off the disguise and

teach the Parliament that they had reared, in their paid servants, a power which they were helpless to control, and which was to assume the position of their master as well as their protector. Just as Parliament had crushed the prerogative of the King on the pretext of protecting him against evil counsellors, so now the army held the Parliament captive on the pretext of defending it against the crowds of London citizens who demanded that Parliament should resist the aggressions of military tyranny. Cromwell continued to send letters to Parliament couched in terms of the most dutiful respect, while day by day he drew his Ironsides closer to the city. Parliament blustered about its own authority; then changed from bluster to solicitation, and in the end its Speaker was compelled to meet the general at his camp, and returned under his escort with all the show of honour, and yet all the reality of captivity. With grim mockery, Parliament was ordered to appoint a day of thanksgiving for its own liberation. The city came to offer its obeisance and to proffer its gifts. The first was accepted with disdain, the last were scornfully thrust aside. Cromwell was a consummate actor; but no man knew better when and how to cast the cloak aside, and show the stern reality of his power.

There was a strange opportuneness in the death this autumn[1] of the Earl of Essex, the general whose gracious countenancing of the Parliament's designs, and whose acceptance of the command of their forces had only four years before seemed the strongest guarantee of their military success. Month by month Essex had realized more fully how far the issue of the work, upon which he entered with so much hope, had passed beyond his control. The direct simplicity of his character had held him back from any temporizing, and as a soldier, the bond of military duty

[1] September, 1646.

weighed heavily with him. A violent breach in the Parliamentarian ranks might have thrust upon him—even against his will—the part of mediator, and perhaps he might still have found adherents enough to break the rising military power. But he died at the very time when the propitious moment for compromise seemed to be near. Cromwell was by his death relieved from any fear lest the influence which Essex represented might revive.

Hyde learned only by chance letters of the progress of the new duel between army and Parliament, and into his biography the details of that struggle do not enter. It was in January $164\frac{7}{8}$ that the King passed from the hands of the Scots into those of Parliament. It was in June that Cornet Joyce [1] roughly entered the King's bed-chamber at Holmby, and by the authority of his pistols and of his files of Ironsides, made him the prisoner of the Army. The Cornet was a ready tool directed by a master hand. Five years of Civil War had made the sword omnipotent. The army had given checkmate to the Parliament, and the person of the King was but the chief piece upon the board in the game between the two.

The King was removed to Hampton Court; and to outward seeming his treatment at the hand of the army was better than that he had received from the representatives of the Parliament at Holmby. His friends were freely admitted to him. Instead of the rabid Presbyterian divines who, in his Scottish surroundings, had made his life a burden, he found himself attended by his own chaplains, and the leading officers of the army behaved themselves towards him always with respect, and often with cordiality. At Hampton Court his liberty was not outwardly curtailed,

[1] Joyce was one of the agitators in the army, and had been a tailor. He had served in a menial capacity for some years in Mr. Hollis's house. Cromwell disavowed his action, but it suited his plans too well for it to be possible to believe that it was without his authority.

and above all he was suffered not only to receive his children, the Duke of York, the Princess Elizabeth, and the little Duke of Gloucester, but he paid them frequent visits at Sion House, where they were in the charge of the Earl of Northumberland. Ormonde came from Ireland to consult with him. Sir John Berkeley, and Ashburnham, the gentleman of his bed-chamber, resorted to him with instructions from the Queen. Berkeley was a man for whom neither the King nor Hyde had much respect; for Ashburnham the King had an affection which Hyde did not share. Perhaps his most important visitor was Lord Capel, who came to express to him more fully the views which he held in common with his bosom friends, Hyde and Hopton. All these were allowed full access to their master, and in free intercourse with the officers of the army; they were led to form hopes of better days for the Royalist party. Even the Duke of Hamilton once more came upon the scene as a friend of the King, and held out good hopes that he might again win for the Royalist cause some support in Scotland by tearing to pieces the cunningly contrived web of Argyle's treachery and deceit. He could count, he said, upon the help of those who felt the honour of Scotland tainted by the surrender of the King. Cromwell found it advisable for a time to appear as the possible saviour of the King. Meanwhile, the Parliament could only look on, in impotent jealousy, and see their authority gradually disappear before the Frankenstein of their own creation. Hyde no doubt had frequent messages from Hampton Court. The King wrote to him, and zealously supplied him with documents and information for his help in writing that record of the great struggle upon which Hyde was now busily engaged. But in the interval of composition, Hyde watched with care the stages of the negotiations now in progress. To his eyes they offered no such happy presages of hope

as his more sanguine friends allowed themselves to form.

Cromwell found it prudent, as yet, to keep up some semblance of respect for Parliament. It was his real and principal business to bring matters to a final breach between the King and Parliament. With his full approval the "Four Bills"[1] were presented to the King, whose assent to them was peremptorily demanded as a preliminary to any negotiations. They were such as no inducement would have forced the King to accept, and his refusal was followed by a vote pledging the Parliament to receive no more addresses from the King. It was in vain that Maynard[2] argued that such a vote not only broke the machine of Government, but virtually abrogated the functions of the Parliament itself as a branch of the Constitution. Such a consummation was indeed an essential part of Cromwell's design.

But within the army itself, wayward and dangerous elements of disturbance arose. The Levellers were now making themselves heard, and they vowed that the whole fabric of the Monarchy must go, and that all distinctions of

[1] This was the name applied to four propositions, which for some time had been discussed in Parliament, and had now taken the form of Four Bills. The first of these gave to Parliament the control of all military force for twenty years, and declared that the control should never revert to the Crown, except with the assent of Parliament. The second and third revoked the King's declarations, and cancelled all recently granted honours. The fourth gave to Parliament the power of adjourning to any place they pleased. The Bills were passed by Parliament about the middle of December, and the King refused consent on December 28.

[2] John Maynard, who became Sir John in 1660, was born in 1602, and his long life carried him through the troubles of James I.'s reign, through the Rebellion, the Commonwealth, and the Stuart period, and over the final act of the drama in the Revolution of 1688. He maintained his independence throughout, and yet managed to steer a course which avoided dangerous pitfalls on every side, and left him a wealthy and prosperous man. He must be distinguished from his contemporary, Sir John Maynard, also a member of the Long Parliament, who maintained the cause of the City against the army, and was involved, as a consequence, in prosecution, fine, and imprisonment.

rank must disappear. Such agitation might serve as a means of hastening sterner measures; but it was a force which must not be allowed to assert itself in mutiny. Cromwell knew how to take drastic steps to crush such a spirit of rebellion at the right moment. The ringleaders were summarily dealt with, and then his purpose relentlessly disclosed itself. The hopes that had been roused had next to be dissipated. The vain figments which had inspired the various negotiations amongst the Royalists, the Scots, the more loyal amongst the officers, and the friends of Charles who had fancied that they saw new opportunities for intrigue, had to be summarily dispelled. The King found the demeanour of the officers altered. His liberty was more restricted; his friends had no longer easy access to him; stern denunciations of his own deceptions reached his ears. Rumours of assassination were conveyed to him, and it was not unnatural that he used such liberty as still remained to him, and at midnight, on November 11th, in the company of Berkeley and Ashburnham, escaped on horseback from Hampton Court. By stealthy roads he made his way to the south coast. Whether he hoped to escape to France or to Jersey is uncertain. But necessity gave him no choice, and within a few days he found himself obliged to commit himself to Hammond, the Governor of the Isle of Wight, by whom he was lodged in Carisbrook Castle, once more a prisoner in the hands of the army. Hyde's forebodings of the ill-result of all these vain negotiations were fully realized. In later days Berkeley and Ashburnham were both blamed for having been responsible for betraying him into Hammond's hands.[1] Hyde had no respect for either—and of the two he most despised Berkeley. But on a full examination of the evidence, he was disposed to lay the blame on the innate vanity that made them

[1] See *ante*, p. 211.

the dupes of shrewder men, rather than on conscious treachery.

Once more, at the Isle of Wight, the Scottish Commissioners renewed their offers. But Cromwell's disguise was now more openly thrown aside. The King, after being allowed a certain period of comparative freedom, during which it would have been easy for him to have escaped, was now kept as a close prisoner. The hopelessness of any further dealings with him was more openly declared. Cromwell did not hesitate to say that, if he encountered him in fight, he would use his pistols upon the Royal person as freely as he would upon any trooper in the enemy's ranks. The sacredness of the kingly office he openly flouted, and the aims of the Levellers became a part of Cromwell's deliberate policy, now that the mutiny of those who first preached such doctrine had been sternly checked. Hyde saw how truly he had discerned that Independents and Presbyterians were alike fickle allies. For the designs and character of both he had an equally profound dislike. But the Presbyterians were the worse politicians of the two. They had not learned as thoroughly as the Independents, so he tells us, the lesson taught by Machiavelli, that when you once enter on tortuous designs to crush liberty, you must be prepared to hesitate before no villainy that will make these designs effective.[1]

The year 1647 closed with the disappearance of these last hopes. Ormonde[2] continued for a time to nurse vain delusions

[1] See Hyde's enunciation of this aspect of Machiavelli's teaching, and his application of it to the Presbyterians and the Independents respectively (*History of Rebellion*, x. 168).

[2] James Butler, descended from one of the most ancient families in Ireland, was born in 1610, and succeeded his grandfather as Earl of Ormonde and Ossory. From his earliest years, he showed ability and energy, and it was his independent spirit that won for him the respect of Wentworth (Strafford) even when he resisted the imperious commands of that stern Deputy in Ireland. His vast possessions enabled him to afford the King effective aid in the Civil War, and his losses in that war were estimated to

as to aid from France. These had already been proved to be utterly deceptive. Mazarin had no mind to embroil himself with the growing power of Cromwell. If the Royalists indulged in any vain schemes of armed resistance to the new authority, they were quickly undeceived. Nor were secret designs attended with any better success. A zealous adherent—one Captain Burley—ventured on a rash scheme of rescuing the King from his imprisonment at Carisbrook by the assistance of the loyalists of Newport. His plot was nipped in the bud, and he paid with his life for the rash effort to save from illegal imprisonment one who was still his acknowledged King. The King, as well as Parliament and the nation, was securely held in Cromwell's toils.

During these eighteen or twenty months, Hyde had been in Jersey, spending the first period of his long exile of fourteen years. By constant correspondence, he kept a close touch upon affairs in England, and was fairly well informed of all that passed. He gauged rightly the profitlessness of the various schemes of alliance with one or another of the factions that now split the anti-Royalist party. In his own mind, the only hope for the King lay in patience, in the steadfast pursuit of a consistent policy, and in allowing the inherent instincts of the nation to re-assert their power. That hope could only be realized by avoiding compromising partnerships, by yielding to no unworthy terms of surrender,

exceed a million sterling. He had an arduous, hopeless, and ill-supported task in the attempt to settle the Irish Rebellion, and was eventually driven into exile, where he suffered the direst privations. Again and again he returned in disguise to England, to attempt forlorn hopes for the Royalist cause. He came back at the Restoration, and was made Duke of Ormonde, and Lord High Steward. He lived honoured and respected till 1688, and proved, even in the reign of James II., that his loyalty could be united with absolute independence.

Writing from Jersey, in May, 1647, Hyde speaks of Ormonde, afterwards to be so closely associated with him in the warmest friendship, as one with whom he had then no acquaintance, but the most sincere respect. He is, according to Hyde, one " whom I take to be the most excellent subject the King is Lord of " (*Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 366).

and by each member of the Royalist party resolving to face loss and hardship rather than capitulate with his principles. Hyde was not in sympathy with those who were ready to "compound" with the rebels, and buy some measure of contemptuous toleration by the payment of fines and forfeitures. He saw no solid reason which could justify such compounding with treason for any one who had originally resisted treason on conscientious grounds.[1] If a man's conscience permitted him to buy such toleration from rebels, it would have been better that he should have played the traitor from the first, and not helped to prolong the vain struggle of the Civil War.

But although he was impatient with such compromise, Hyde in his exile was not unwilling to appreciate the temptation it offered to those who remained. For them, further fighting seemed hopeless; and they might at least, by surrender, prevent the local administration of the country from falling into the worst hands. Already it was apparent that social rank was being submerged, and that the least worthy and the least responsible were being pushed into an authority which they were entirely unfitted to wield. The constable was converted into the justice of the peace; the overseer of the poor became the autocratic commissioner.[2] Might

[1] Hyde expressed this view even more clearly in later days, but it is visible in his correspondence even at this time. Writing to Lord Hopton, on June 9, 1647 (*Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 370), he says: "Whatever others do, let me persuade you, as you have ventured your life, and lost your fortune, in the defence of your country, so do not think you have preserved it, when you have bartered away those fundamental rights upon which the Constitution of it is founded." Again, in a letter to Sir J. Berkeley (October 6, 1647, *State Papers*, ii. 379): "I must say that from the beginning of these contentions, unreasonable concessions have always produced unreasonable demands, and if they see you will not yield, they must. A firm peace can never be established but by the old models. I do not say an honest, or an honourable peace, but a firm peace. Let it be never so showy, it can never last, if the old banks be not kept up."

See also at a later day, Hyde to Hopton, Feb. 14, 1647 (*State Papers*, iii. 2); Hyde to Nicholas, Dec. 29, 1650 (*ibid.*, iii. 26); and Hyde to Ormonde, Nov. 1, 1659 (*ibid.*, iii. 595).

[2] *Rebellion*, x. 151.

not prudent compromise become a duty, if it were to preserve even a fragment of social order? Exile was a melancholy fate enough; but at least it saved Hyde from those temptations to make terms with the Army and the Parliament, which captivated many less conspicuously marked out for the enmity of the rebels than he.

His enforced leisure at Jersey was happily occupied, and this consoled him at once for anxiety on account of his family, and for some petty privations which he had to endure. After the Prince left in July, 1646, Hyde had in Hopton and Capel the companionship of the two men whom he would probably have chosen out of the whole remaining band of his Royalist friends. Some of these, amongst them the dearest of all—the Falkland to whom his memories fondly returned in long-after years—had fallen in the struggle. Others were dispersed or in hiding. Hopton and Capel,[1] his present companions, were two of the purest and most unselfish spirits still surviving amongst the adherents of the King. These three lived together at St. Helier's; that is to say, they occupied convenient houses in the town, and met together each day at eleven o'clock in the church, where they had the services of a chaplain of their own choice; dined together afterwards, and met in the evening to stroll together on the sands. They were treated with warm cordiality by Sir George Carteret, the Deputy-Governor, and met with kindness from the loyal inhabitants of Jersey. Hopton and Capel spent their leisure in riding or reading; Hyde,[2] with

[1] Lord Capel's daughter became, long afterwards, the wife of Hyde's son, the second Earl of Clarendon.

[2] In a letter to Dr. Morley he jests at himself for occupying his time in reading the classics, instead of improving his French. He had an object in studying the best models of historical composition. In a letter to Dr. John Earle, of December 14, 1647 (*Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 386), he speaks of Livy and Tacitus as his models, especially for the drawing of character, and then proceeds: "I am contented you should laugh at me for a fop in talking of Livy and Tacitus, when all I can hope for is to side Hollingshead and Stowe, or (because he is a poor knight, too) Sir Richard Baker."

his usual steady assiduity, set himself to writing the history of that momentous struggle in which he had already played so conspicuous a part. Theirs was a thrifty life, and in one of his letters, Hyde tells how they could afford only one good meal in the day; but they had abundant consolations. Hyde enjoyed, "as he was wont to say, the greatest tranquillity of mind imaginable."[1] He could not but be anxious about his wife and children, who still remained in England, who certainly had scanty resources, and who might be made to feel even more decided marks of the ill-humour of the Parliament. But he could place full trust in the steadfastness of mind in his wife, which never failed him through all these weary vicissitudes.[2] He had at least philosophy enough to teach him that undaunted hope and untiring work were the best cures for the ills under which he lay. Whatever others might do, he at least sought no subterfuges from conscience, and no compromising pledges. He was sustained in his work by seeing the History, which was to be his great legacy to posterity, growing under his hand. Every page of it tells us that the author was conscious, however he might allege a less ambitious aim, that he was painting for all time those scenes of history that he had helped to make; and his chief annoyance was that those who could, and had promised to, supply him with material for those parts of it which were beyond his own knowledge, often failed to give him the help they might. The King at least found time to do his part in sending him valuable material. He knew enough of Hyde's pen to realize, perhaps almost unconsciously, that his would be the hand that would portray the story of the war which posterity would chiefly read. After a time,

[1] *Life*, i. 239.

[2] In letters to the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Southampton at this time, he commends his wife and young family to their care, in the event of his own death. He made his will, providing carefully for the payment of his debts, and praying that the help of Lord Hopton, Lord Capel, and Nicholas shall be extended to his wife (*Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 355).

first Capel and then Hopton were called away to take part in new efforts for the cause they all had at heart. Hyde remained to prosecute his great work in quiet, and to await the summons from the King to join the Prince, as soon as his assistance might be required. Bereft of his friends, he accepted the invitation of Sir George Carteret to take up his abode with him at Castle Elizabeth. There he built for himself a small lodging against the wall of the church, on which he inscribed the motto fitted for his quiet retreat, "Bene vixit qui bene latuit." Lonely otherwise, he had the companionship of his books and papers, and ten hours every day went to the compiling of the first part of his monumental History in its original form. By personal letters from the King, he knew that he was not forgotten in the love of the master he had served so well, who still looked forward to the day when he or his successors would benefit by Hyde's guidance and wise advice. Sheldon, who still remained with the King, told Hyde how envious and detracting messages from Paris had utterly failed to shake the King's faith in his wisdom and his trustworthiness. That good opinion was strengthened by the accounts given by Lord Capel, who returned to England, and managed to get access to the King. The serenity of spirit which, in spite of his quick temper, never failed Hyde, stood him in good stead now. Patience and hard work were the best anodynes against the depression and anxiety that might well have overwhelmed a less courageous man. In the spring of 1647, there seemed a real danger that Jersey would be seized by the Parliamentary Fleet, and Hyde knew well what fate awaited him should he fall into the hands of his enemies. It was this which prompted him to make his will, and leave his last injunctions to his family. But the danger passed away.

Once more his pen was employed in a vindication of

the King against the Parliament's vote of "No Addresses"; and it was by means of his old friend, Nicholas, the Secretary, that it was conveyed to the King, to be published for the judgment of the people. Like its predecessors, it worked powerfully for the Royalist cause. Early in 1648, he received from Capel notice that he must hold himself in readiness to join the Prince at Paris. In April he was warned that the summons would come soon. About the middle of May the Queen sent the actual call to him to come. It was no welcome one to Hyde, who knew he was bid to place himself in a hot-bed of intrigue; but he did not hesitate to obey. From his quiet labour in Jersey he went to Caen, and thence he joined, at Rouen, Lord Cottington (the Lord Treasurer), the Earl of Bristol, and Secretary Nicholas, who had received similar orders. The Prince had already moved to Calais, and they were bidden to await new orders at Rouen. These speedily arrived, and bade them be ready to move to Holland. They repaired to Dieppe, where they soon received their sailing orders. They looked for the first chance vessel they could find to sail for Flushing—all except Bristol, who hesitated to make such a hazardous venture when the Channel was beset by the Parliament's Fleet; and while he returned to Caen, the others took advantage of a French vessel of war, which offered to carry them to Dunkirk. Hyde was a bad sailor, and the accommodation that the vessel afforded was not such as lessened the hardship of the voyage. They owed little thanks to France for the transport. Out of their scanty supply of money, they were obliged to pay the exorbitant demands of a greedy captain. When they arrived at Dunkirk, it was to learn that the Prince had sailed to the Thames with the English fleet, which had mutinied against Parliament.

The Governor of Dunkirk (Marshal Rantzau) offered to supply them with a ship which would enable them to join

the Prince and the Fleet. His welcome was a warm one; the man himself impressed Hyde well, and he indulges in one of his vivid pen-and-ink portraits.

"He received them with great civility, being a very proper man, and might well be reckoned a very handsome man, though he had but one leg, one hand, one eye, and one ear, the other being cut off with that side of his face; besides many cuts on the other cheek, and upon his head, with many wounds in the body; notwithstanding all which, he stood very upright, and had a very graceful motion, a clear voice, and a charming delivery; and if he had not, according to the custom of his nation (for he was a German), too much indulged to the excess of wine, he had been one of the most excellent captains of that age."

The frigate he supplied them with lost nothing in his description. It bore the auspicious name of *The Hare*, and transcended in swiftness, so said the Marshal, all the vessels of the coast. After a jovial dinner they set sail in a bright moonlight night, and all promised well. But, alas! there fell a dead calm, in which *The Hare* was as helpless as her slower compeers; and they found themselves surrounded presently by six or seven stronger ships. These turned out to be privateers, privately owned, but bearing the King of Spain's commission; and their captors treated them with ruthless barbarity. Their persons were searched, and all they possessed was taken from them. Cottington lost over a thousand pounds; and Hyde lost, besides his clothes, all the money he possessed—some two hundred pounds. They were carried as prisoners to Ostend. They applied to the magistrates for redress; but soon found that they were likely to get little more than civil words. The ships were actually owned by substantial merchants of the town, who knew how to make the magistrates wink at their misdeeds. Some small part of their goods and papers were discovered

and restored, but it soon appeared that their captors were in no mood to listen to proposals for complete reparation. The magistrates talked big of the punishment that would be meted out to the privateers. But it was evident that they would go no further than words; and Hyde and Cottington were forced to content themselves with a hundred pistoles which might serve to discharge their debts in the town, and to carry them to the Prince. Their only satisfaction was to observe that the trade of privateering was a risky one, and that some, who had amassed great fortunes by it, were hanging about the streets as beggars. Hyde treasured the knowledge for a future day, and in the later wars with Holland tried to dissuade his countrymen from a business that had as little of permanent profit as it had of justice or sound principle. They made their way to Flushing, and thence vainly endeavoured to join the Prince and the Fleet in the Downs. Contrary winds prevented them. In August they learned that the Prince was just about to return to the Hague; and there they joined him in September. They found the exiled Court in a dangerous plight: unwelcome guests amongst the Dutch, and adding to their own misfortunes by being honeycombed by faction and personal jealousies. Hyde had exchanged his peaceful days at Jersey for a more troubled atmosphere; and in it he had to spend some months of daily increasing anxiety and deepening tragedy.

Events had moved rapidly in England from the springtime when the King had found himself immured at Carisbrook to these autumn days. The discussion between the Parliament and the army had revived the hopes of the Royalists, and for the moment brought to their side some new adherents. The Earl of Holland conceived the idea of recovering his lost reputation for loyalty, and entered into schemes for a renewed resistance in which he found

a wonderful amount of ready co-operation from those to whom he had long been a stranger. He was now in busy correspondence with his friend Jermyn and the Queen, and his connection with the Presbyterians, who were still friendly to the monarchy, ensured him some influence with them. He was named as general by the Prince, and found that many were ready to flock to his standard when it should be raised. There was, strangely, little concealment of their plans, and it is difficult to believe that Cromwell did not purposely wink at these in order to bring into more prominence the strength of the army and the helplessness of the Parliament. In Scotland, the Duke of Hamilton, his brother the Earl of Lanark, and the Earl of Lauderdale, were united in a scheme which was to supersede Argyle, and raise a Scottish army for the King. In Yorkshire and Cumberland, Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Sir Philip Musgrave were raising large levies amongst the aggrieved Royalists, whose hopes were buoyed up by the open dissensions between Parliament and army, and by the widespread discontent amongst all classes of the nation against the growing aggressions of the new tyranny. By a happy contrivance the escape of the Duke of York was, with the consent of the King, arranged for. Disguised as a girl, he managed to steal from St. James's, to get on board a ship in the Thames, and safely to reach Holland. Another valuable hostage was thus filched from the enemies of the King. The loyal Capel was again moving secretly through England, and was ready to engage himself in any desperate exploit for the Royalist cause.

For a time all seemed to go well. The fleet was disgusted with the course of affairs, and spasmodic discontent soon culminated in open mutiny. Their officers were ejected from the ships, and the fleet sailed to join the Prince, whom they were ready to receive as their admiral. At the

same juncture risings took place in Kent, and promises of strong support were received from the country gentlemen. It is true that its efficaciousness was the more doubtful as it was largely based on a prevalent rollicking "good fellowship," which kindled hopes and aspirations that might be more imposing for the moment than stubborn in resistance when opposition had to be met. To meet the fleet which now offered its allegiance, the Prince hastened to Calais, and embarking there, sailed to the Downs. The Earl of Norwich (father of Lord Goring), who gained support rather by his camaraderie and easy bonhomie than by any confidence in his conduct or wisdom, was ready to help with the Kentish levies, who accepted him as their general. Thus opened what has been described as the second civil war.

But it was little else than the delusive flicker of an expiring flame. Fairfax was sent against Norwich, who had advanced to Blackheath, and whose army was soon scattered, and himself taken prisoner. The fleet was without discipline, and it required all Prince Rupert's energetic activity to keep up a semblance of respect for their officers. Active mutiny on board was not wanting, and on one occasion Rupert quelled it only by the drastic method of pitching two or three of the sailors overboard with his own hands. Warwick was now dispatched by the Parliament with another fleet, and that which chance had given to the Prince was in no condition to resist their late admiral. The Duke of Hamilton entered England with a Scottish army in July; but his force failed to co-operate with that of Sir Marmaduke Langdale in Yorkshire, and at Preston his army was routed, and himself taken prisoner by Cromwell. The Prince quitted the fleet in hopeless despair, and repaired to the Hague, where the news of Hamilton's disastrous defeat soon reached him. He had already been joined by Hyde and Cottington.

Lauderdale soon came to the Hague with new promises

of help from Scotland, and an invitation for the Prince to repair there with all speed. He affected to throw doubt on Hamilton's defeat, but anyhow it did not lessen the urgency of his summons. To that summons, which he saw to be fraught with danger, Hyde opposed the strongest resistance, and a keen struggle between himself and Lauderdale ensued, the memory of which lingered in far later days. For Lauderdale's selfish treachery and profound dissimulation he had already conceived the deepest contempt. The invitation was for the Prince alone, and the company of Prince Rupert and Hyde was strictly barred. To have permitted the Prince to trust himself alone to Lauderdale would have been a desertion of the charge committed to Hyde by the King. With characteristic insolence, Lauderdale attempted to browbeat the Council; but he found himself unable to prevail, and soon returned, in no good temper, to Scotland.

Meanwhile Cromwell had advanced into Scotland, where all bent before his power. Argyle was glad to bolster up his threatened influence by obedience to Cromwell's behests. Just enough deference was paid to the Presbyterians to keep them quiet; and Scotland was subdued sufficiently to wait until a better opportunity came for its complete subjugation. With as little delay as might be Cromwell was back in England to confirm his control over Parliament.

It took but little time to stamp out the embers of armed resistance. Holland rose in Kent, but his army was soon defeated, and after he had fled to St. Neot's he was captured and conveyed to Windsor. Colchester, where Capel and a gallant band still maintained themselves, was soon captured by Fairfax. Cruel and summary vengeance was meted out to some[1]; others, and Capel amongst the number, were

[1] The story is fully told by Hyde (*History of Rebellion*, xi. 105), and shows amply the ruthlessness with which vengeance was now pursued. All the

taken prisoners, on terms which involved a pledge on the part of Fairfax that their lives should be inviolate. Capel was sent to join Hamilton, Holland, and Norwich in prison at Windsor Castle, whence they were soon transferred to the Tower.

The adherents of the King were defeated in the field. But it did not follow that Royalist sentiments were dead, or that the hatred for the encroaching tyranny was at an end. The disputes between Parliament and army, between Presbyterian and Independent, were as bitter as ever; and the regret and resentment, with which many who saw too late the dangers to which the country was exposed, secretly swelled the growth of these jealousies. The City was indignant with the domination of the army; but any show of sympathy between City and Parliament was speedily followed by another turn of the military screw. With more and more of insistency the project of a personal treaty with the King was urged. To veto such a treaty altogether might have been dangerous; it was therefore allowed to proceed, but care was taken to make the terms to be pressed upon the King such as it was well known he could not conscientiously accept. On September 15th, the Commissioners charged to carry on this personal treaty arrived in the Isle of Wight. They found the King sadly changed by his long imprisonment

officers in Colchester surrendered at mercy, on condition that the common soldiers should be spared. From these officers, three were summoned, who seemed of superior rank—Sir Bernard Gascoigne, Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle—and they were told to prepare for instant death. Three files of musketeers were drawn up in readiness for their execution. It transpired, however, that Sir Bernard Gascoigne was a native of Florence, and, to avoid foreign complications, he was spared. The other two were straightway shot. Lucas was brother and heir to Lord Lucas: "very brave in his person, and in a day of battle a gallant man to look upon, and follow; but at all other times and places, of a nature not to be lived with, of an ill-understanding, of a rough and proud nature." Lisle was as brave an officer and as gallant a leader; "but then, to his fierceness of courage he had the softest and most gentle nature imaginable; loved all, and beloved of all, and without a capacity to have an enemy." In choicest words Hyde lays an imperishable wreath on a soldier's tomb.

and by the many indignities to which he had been subjected. Sorrow and anxiety had altered his appearance. He had neglected the care of his dress, in which he had hitherto followed punctiliously the stately fashions of the time. His hair and beard were untrimmed, and they had become prematurely grey. The impression of sadness affected the most heartless of his enemies; but they soon found that, in spite of outward signs, Charles had borrowed a new cheerfulness from despair. The long fight, as he clearly discerned, was nearly over; and his readiness for martyrdom on account of his conscientious convictions had given him a strength greater than he had ever shown before. Once more the old wrangles were begun. The demands of the Commissioners were more imperious than ever. The King was required formally to admit that from first to last the right had uniformly lain with his enemies, and he was to enter upon the treaty as the guilty party, at whose door all blame was to be laid. He was to sacrifice the Church, to strip himself of all military power, to renounce any right of nominating his own ministers, and to abandon his friends to the vengeance of Parliament. We would entirely mistake the points at issue, if we transferred back to that day the later usages of modern constitutional monarchy, by which the nominal powers of the Crown are exercised through a ministry entirely dependent on a Parliamentary majority. The slow and gentle operation of time and changing usage gradually worked that peaceful revolution. But by no party was such a solution realized as possible in the middle of the seventeenth century. According to the notions of that day, ministers must be either the servants of the King or his tyrannical masters.

In the severity of the terms proposed the hand of the military commander was visible; and that severity worked, as he designed that it should, to make any compromise impossible.

"It is almost evident," says Hyde, "that the major part of both Houses of Parliament was, at that time, so far from desiring the execution of all those concessions, that, if they had been able to have resisted the wild fury of the army, they could have been themselves suitors to have declined the greatest part of them." [1]

On November 25th the sorry farce was played out, and the Commissioners broke off the treaty.

Before the negotiations closed the King had begun a letter to the Prince, which really served as his last testament and *apologia* to the world and to posterity. It was dispatched a few days later. Whatever judgment we may pass upon various actions of the King during the long struggle, it is impossible to deny the consummate dignity of what was virtually his farewell to the long fight, or to refuse to subscribe to Hyde's words, "that it deserves to be preserved in letters of gold."

In that letter Charles explained the motives that had guided him in the late negotiations. He was ready to forget the disloyalty of many amongst his subjects, and even amongst those whom he had supposed to be his friends.

"But," he added, "never had prince a testimony in others of more loyalty than he had; and however that God, for their and his punishment, had not blessed some of their endeavours, yet more misguided persons were at last reduced to their loyalty than could in any story be exampled." "We have laboured in the search of peace," he told his son; "do not be disheartened to tread in the same steps. Use all worthy ways to restore yourself to your right, but prefer the way of peace; show the greatness of your mind, if God bless you, rather to conquer your enemies by pardoning than punishing. . . . Give belief to our experience, never to affect more greatness or prerogative than that which is really or intrinsically for the good of subjects, not the satis-

[1] *Rebellion*, xi. 189.

faction of favourites. . . . These considerations may make you as great a prince as your father is now a low one; and your state may be so much the more established as mine hath been shaken. . . . The English nation are a sober people, however at present infatuated."

He concludes thus:—

"We know not but this may be the last time we may speak to you, or the world, publicly; we are sensible into what hands we are fallen; and yet we bless God, we have those inward refreshments the malice of our enemies cannot perturb. We have learned to busy ourself by retiring into ourself; and can therefore the better digest what befalls us; not doubting but God's providence will restrain our enemies' power, and turn their fierceness to His praise.

"To conclude, if God gives you success, use it humbly, and far from revenge. If He restore you to your right upon hard conditions, whatever you promise, keep. The men who have forced laws, which they were bound to preserve, will find their triumphs full of trouble. Do not think anything in this world worth obtaining by foul and unjust means.

"You are the son of our love, and as we direct you to weigh what we here recommend to you, so we assure you we do not more affectionately pray for you (to whom we are a natural parent) than we do that the ancient glory and renown of this nation be not buried in irreligion and fanatic humour; and that all our subjects (to whom we are a politic parent) may have such sober thoughts, as to seek their peace in the orthodox profession of the Christian religion as was established since the reformation in this kingdom, and not in new revelations, and that the ancient laws, with the interpretation according to the known practice, may once again be a hedge about them; that you may in due time govern, and they be governed, as in the fear of God; which is the prayer of

"Your very loving Father,

"C. R."

Only two months now separated the King from the

scaffold, and the designs of the army proceeded apace. Already for months, if not for years, there had been obscure threatenings against the existence of the Monarchy and the person of the King; and these were now openly countenanced by the highest in authority. The King had ample grounds for fearing assassination, and it is evident that there were plans formed for his death by violence, which would have avoided all the hazards of a formal trial. To meet these schemes there were some half-hearted efforts made by his adherents to compass his escape. But they all miscarried. In France, as Hyde tells us, there was no desire amongst certain of the Royalists for the appearance of Charles upon that scene. His escape to France would have at once dissipated the ill-calculated but ambitious schemes of the Queen to retrieve the position. That her callous attitude to the extreme danger of her husband was partly, at least, due to ambition, is indubitable; and we need not stain her name further by giving credit to the scandal, that infidelity to his ungrudging and ample love was in any way a helping motive.

In Parliament the threatening voices against "the Great Delinquent" were now unrestrained. The King was moved to Hurst Castle, where even the scanty comforts of Carisbrook were wanting. All those who opposed the new designs were excluded from Parliament; a Committee was appointed to formulate charges; and when these proved unacceptable to the Lords, the doors of the House of Lords were closed, and the attenuated House of Commons assumed the whole authority of the State. England had experience of, and learned, it may be hoped permanently, never to forget, the danger and the tyranny of a single chamber. Urgent missives from the Queen and the Prince received no response. The King was brought to Windsor by water, and thence to St. James's, in preparation for his trial, by a specially nominated Commission, over which Bradshaw, an obscure lawyer, was

appointed to preside. All resistance was crushed by the presence of the army at the very doors of Parliament.

The rest of the tragedy, carried on far from Hyde's sight or immediate knowledge, lies outside his biography, although its effect changed the whole purpose of his life. On January 8th, 146$\frac{9}{8}$, began the degrading mockery of the King's trial; on the 27th, sentence of death was pronounced; and on the 30th, the final act was consummated in the execution of the King at Whitehall. The nation, dominated by a band of determined men, insignificant in numbers, was cowed into silent acquiescence in the perpetration of a daring outrage, which, under a mask of judicial form, belied the inherent loyalty of the English people and was at war with its innate respect for the law. Amidst his grief for the loss of a master to whose faults he was not blind, but to whose person he was passionately attached, Hyde found himself immersed in increasingly irksome duties at the exiled Court of his successor.

It is not part of our business here to draw the character of Charles I. But we would miss an important aid to our judgment of Hyde himself were we to leave unnoticed the verdict which he passes, in well-weighed words, upon his dead master. It lacks at once the epigrammatic force and the occasional brightness of wit which are to be found in many of the characters interspersed throughout his history; nor has it the picturesque touches with which he often lightens the description of some personality of striking and attractive brilliancy and grace, or the fervent affection which he has lavished upon a lifelong friend like Falkland. It is grave and dignified rather than forcible or impassioned; he imparts to it no touch of intimate familiarity, and deals with his Royal master in a style of calm formality. His judgment is insensibly affected by the fact that the King was to him the object of a loyalty that had much of the gravity

of religious feeling in its composition. It is rather a tribute paid with something of solemn reverence than an echo of personal affection. First of the King's private qualities—

"He was, if ever any, the most worthy of the title of an honest man." "No temptation could dispose him to a wrongful action, except it was so disguised to him that he believed it to be just." "He had a tenderness and compassion of nature which restrained him from ever doing a hard-hearted thing." "So severe an exactor of gravity and reverence in all mention of religion, that he could never endure any light or profane word with what sharpness of wit whatever it was covered. . . . No man durst bring before him anything that was profane or unclean."[1] "So great an example of conjugal affection, that they who did not imitate him in that particular did not brag of their liberty."

We have here the portrait of one who had a certain austerity of character, a well-guarded formality of manner, possibly some narrowness of sympathy, and withal something of that lack of self-confidence which might be allied to tenderness of heart, but was ill-fitted to contend with the boisterous forces let loose by civil strife. Reared within the sacred precincts of the palace, such a character never acquired the durance needed for contact with the rougher air. With all his stern rectitude, and all his religious ardour, Hyde himself had been trained in a rougher school, and had learned to tolerate, even while he might secretly condemn, the cruder aspects of social usage; he had been disciplined in a hard school, and knew how to curb the impulses of tenderness by the dictates of reason. He could strip away those deceptions which, with Charles, so often concealed the truth,

[1] Bishop Warburton, commenting on this passage, adduces against it an instance of the King's reported conversation, which does not, when due allowance is made for the habitual language of the time, appear sufficient to support the inconsistency which the Bishop wishes to prove (see *History of Rebellion* (edit. 1849), vi. 582).

and could " dispose him to a wrongful action," if " *disguised so that he believed it to be just.*"

" His kingly virtues had some mixture and alloy that hindered them from shining in full lustre, and from producing those fruits they should have been attended with." " He was not in his nature very bountiful, though he gave very much." " He kept State to the full . . . saw and observed men long, before he received them about his person; did not love strangers, nor very confident men."

The picture of the King is the very reflection of the preceding portrait of the private man; a picture of a King who, in a scene of vast social and political change, was wedded to routine, impervious to new impressions, suspicious of new men and new ideas, and too reserved and proud to seek the gratitude rightly due to his own bounty.

" Very fearless in his person; but not very enterprising. . . . An excellent understanding, but not confident enough of it. . . . If he had been of a rougher and more imperious nature, he would have found more respect and duty." His conscience " made him choose the softer way, and not hearken to severe counsels how reasonably soever urged."

Every trait in the personal character is mirrored in the merits and defects of the King. Hyde had learned them by many a vexatious wrangle, and by the memory of many a scheme, baffled by Charles's ill-timed impulsiveness, or wrecked by his fatal instability of purpose. None knew better than Hyde how much the dogged courage of endurance, and the stately dignity of suffering, were marred and blighted by innate defects of moral and intellectual force.

His character of Charles, if it wants something of the heartiness of personal regard, shows no lack of consummate art. It unites a full measure of sincerity with an ample

and dignified tribute of reverential loyalty. Its closing sentences reflect Hyde's attitude towards that master, fidelity to whom, living and dead, was one of the dominant motives during the last half of his life :—

"To conclude, he was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian that the age in which he lived produced. And if he was not the best King, if he were without some parts and qualities that have made some Kings great and happy, no other Prince was ever unhappy, who was possessed of half his virtues and endowments, and so much without any kind of vice."

Those who find in history chiefly a field for the exercise of casuistry, or for the display of political partisanship, and who never weary of dissecting, by the aid of petty and often conflicting evidence, the character of Charles I., will deem these to be words of undue praise. But in them Clarendon has anticipated and cast into enduring form the verdict—rough it may be, but broadly just—which the invincible instinct of humanity has, after three centuries, passed, in spite of conspicuous errors and some undoubted flaws, upon the essential dignity and the pathetic virtues of the central figure in the great tragedy of our Civil War.

CHAPTER XII

EXILE AND BROKEN HOPES

The execution of the King had sequels which deeply affected Hyde. Others with whom his relations had been long and intimate fell victims to that vindictive vengeance, which sought to secure the new tyranny by inspiring terror. The next of the conspicuous foes of the new rule brought to trial were the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, the Earl of Norwich, and Lord Capel, with a Welsh gentleman, Sir John Owen. With Hamilton, Hyde had been brought into contact very early in his career, when as a young lawyer he had been called into counsel in an affair where Jermyn's conduct had brought scandal to many leading families, amongst them that of Hamilton.[1] The dark and mysterious character of Hamilton, and his propensity to intrigue, had always made him repugnant to Hyde, and in his case Hyde's prejudice against the Scots was allowed full sway. Hyde was doubtful of the wisdom of the King in putting confidence in Hamilton's fidelity; and he was nowise opposed to Hamilton's being placed under arrest in Oxford (where he came with a proffer of allegiance), and afterwards imprisoned at Pendennis Castle. During Hyde's last months in England, there had taken place those conversations at Pendennis, where Hamilton urged his readiness and ability to help the cause of the King, if he were granted liberty, and

[1] See *ante*, p. 36.

allowed to repair to his friends in Scotland. Hyde saw that the rapid success of the Parliamentary army would soon give Hamilton the freedom he desired, and thought that it would then be time enough for him to prove the readiness which he professed to serve the cause which had suffered so grievously at his hands. Since then Hamilton had recognized the fury of the torrent which he had contributed to let loose, and like many others of his order he had no mind that the limitation of monarchy should involve the destruction of social order and the sweeping away of the vast privileges which belonged to his own class. His jealousy of Argyle led him with all the more readiness to adopt the Royalist cause, and he had, from selfish motives, taken those active steps to defend the Crown, to which feelings of loyalty had failed to impel him. But whatever their motive, his recent exertions had undoubtedly helped the Royalists for a time, and had been inspired by a zeal which rarely animated Hamilton. Hyde admits the value of his belated services, even while he feels no attraction to the man.

The Duke managed to escape from his imprisonment, and was at liberty for three days; but when he was about to leave London, presumably for Scotland, he was re-arrested in Southwark. When brought to trial, he denied the jurisdiction of the Court before which he was arraigned, and asserted that as he had taken command of the army at the orders of the Scottish Parliament (to which alone he owed allegiance) he could not be guilty of treason, and, further, that he was subject only to the judgment of his Scottish Peers. That plea was easily upset: he was judged, not as Duke of Hamilton, but as Earl of Cambridge in the peerage of England. He continued to cherish hopes of a reprieve; but his influence in Scotland was still too substantial to allow the Parliamentary leaders to grant him his life.

With Holland also Hyde had had a long acquaintance, but no warmth of friendship. Holland's greed and selfish ambition, his shiftiness and dissimulation, the gross ingratitude which had transformed him—the most favoured of courtiers—into one of the most virulent enemies of the King, had alienated from him Hyde's regard, and had earned him his contempt. Hyde, it is true, had endeavoured to procure for Holland a rather better reception, when he betook himself to the Court at Oxford, and found himself shunned by those whom his ingratitude had alienated; and had thought that it would have been sound policy to encourage his return to apparent loyalty. But, like Hamilton, Holland's repentance came too late, and arose only when he found that what his alliance with the popular party was to bring him was small compared with that which it had cost him. His fatal defect was one with which Hyde could have little sympathy: "he did think poverty the most insupportable evil that could befall any man in this world." The Royalist who recked highly of wealth was likely to prove of little value to the Royal cause.

Holland would readily have accepted a pardon, at the price of a new recantation, but the opportunity was not allowed him. The efforts of his brother, Lord Warwick, and the zealous intercession of the Presbyterians, who looked on him as a champion of their faith, were not likely to weigh much with men who cared little for Warwick's rank, and regarded the Presbyterians as dangerous foes. Even his age and failing health did not suffice to stir the mercy of those whose cause he had deserted, and in whose hands his fate lay. He, like Hamilton, suffered the last penalty.

Norwich—whose abilities Hyde doubted, although he recognized the rough and rather reckless loyalty which had instigated him to the revolt in Kent—was more fortunate than Hamilton or Holland. Personally Norwich had few enemies,

and was little more than a jovial squire whom the zeal of his friends and neighbours had thrust into a task of knight errantry for which he had little capacity. He had neither the consummate ability, the profound skill in dissimulation, nor the turbulent ambition, that made Hyde look with mingled astonishment and detestation upon his son Lord Goring. But neither had he the high aims or heroic bearing of the nobler type of cavalier. He addressed the Court "as a man that would be beholden to them if they would give him leave to live;" and mercy was granted him as much, perhaps, from contempt, as from the friendliness of some members of the Court.

Lord Capel, that friend in adversity whom Hyde cherished with the warmest love, belonged to another class of Royalist. No purer and nobler soul had entered on the struggle. He had no particular regard for the Court, owed little to its favour, and had, by inheritance and good fortune, all that could render life desirable, in wealth and station as well as in a domestic circle of rare felicity. When the issue at stake became evident, there was no hesitation on the part of Capel. He saw that "clear path before him" which his latest letter to his wife tells us it was his constant desire to follow: no personal loss, no hardship, and no danger, could for an instant weigh with him against the call of duty. No ambition entered into his thoughts, and he sought only to serve the King without claiming any part in his counsels. Others might wrangle and look jealously upon the distribution of command: Capel's only object was to do his duty as a loyal subject, at whatever cost and in whatever capacity. In the long and weary days in the west, he and Hyde had stood together as faithful allies on the Council of the Prince, and had done what they could to check the evil fruit of selfish faction and undisciplined contention. In Jersey, the cherished companionship of Capel and Hopton had given to

Hyde the two years, which, in spite of privations and anxieties, were the most peaceful period in his long exile.

At his trial Capel contended that, as a prisoner of war, "the lawyers and gownsmen had nothing to do with him, and therefore he would not answer anything they had said against him." Fairfax, after the summary execution of Lisle and Lucas, upon the capture of Colchester, had implicitly, if not in express words, accepted the others as surrendered prisoners; and he stood self-convicted by prevarication in giving evidence on the matter. No doubts were permitted to come between Capel's enemies and their vindictive lust for vengeance; and he himself was not sorry to owe nothing to their mercy. History presents few parallels to the barbarous cynicism of Cromwell's argument against any such leniency. When Lady Capel's petition was under discussion, "Cromwell, who had known him very well, spoke so much good of him, and professed to have so much kindness and respect for him, that all men thought he was now safe." But that was not the intention of Cromwell's praises. He went on to say—

"that he knew the Lord Capel very well, and knew that he would be the last man in England that would forsake the royal interest: that he had great courage, industry and generosity: that he had many friends who would always adhere to him; and that as long as he lived, what condition soever he was in, he would be a thorn in their sides; and therefore, for the good of the Commonwealth, he should give his vote against the petition."

To Cromwell's cynicism there was added the "immortal hatred" of Ireton, "who spake of him and against him as of a man of whom he was heartily afraid." Some three or four voices turned the scale against him; and rarely has a man, even by the confession of his enemies, been so surely done to death for the very virtues which made them fear him. He

died as nobly as he had lived; and Hyde's eulogy has the eloquence and dignity which he knew so well to impart to it. "In a word, he was a man, that whoever shall, after him, deserve best of the English nation, he can never think himself undervalued, when he shall hear that his courage, virtue, and fidelity is laid in the balance with, and compared to, that of the Lord Capel."

Sir John Owen's attitude to his judges was worthy of a brave man who had ventured all for his King, and cared little for any penalty they might inflict. "It was a great honour," he said, "to a poor gentleman of Wales to lose his head with such noble lords." His careless recklessness sufficed, perhaps with the help of his inferior station, to save him from the full fury of the Court, and they granted him a life for which he had not demeaned himself so far as to petition.

These were only conspicuous instances, amongst many, of a vengeance which was inspired in the Parliamentary leaders not by vindictiveness alone, but by fear, and by the consciousness that they had against them the great majority of the nation, if only it had been able to translate its feelings into any practical shape. For Hyde, these deaths meant the passing away of outstanding figures which had bulked largely in his life in England, and whose removal added a new sense of loneliness to his exile. For ten years more we have to trace his action amid shifting scenes, far away from the public life of England, steering, as best he might, amidst the tortuous currents and eddies of the exiled Court: eluding, as far as he could, for himself, and composing for others, its perpetual series of ignoble quarrels: checking, as far as possible, rash designs, or projects which would have involved fatal desertion of principle: striving, often by means that a proud man could ill brook, to gather precarious means of subsistence for the Court, and with vain efforts to introduce

some semblance of order into its expenditure: vexed in his soul by the petty caprices of the Queen, and the selfish intrigues of her adherents: doing his best to maintain the spirits, and at the same time to curb the impatience, of the scattered contingents that would fain have aided, but, as a fact, often hopelessly embarrassed, the Royal cause. Outwardly, during these weary years, Hyde is no actor in English history; he is at best the distant and obscure watcher, intent on guiding through the breakers the very frail bark of which he was the pilot. His influence was, however, noticed sufficiently to make him the ready target of blame for every malcontent.

The period which intervened between the disclosure of the fixed intention to drive matters to the utmost extremity against the King, and the actual commission of his judicial murder, had been short. At that time the Queen was in Paris, and the Prince at the Hague. Both sent urgent messages which received no attention from Parliament; and Prince Charles went so far as to send a blank sheet of paper with his seal and sign manual, upon which Parliament might itself enter the guarantees for constitutional government which they might exact as the condition of sparing his father's life. A bargain with such a ratification could, of course, have had no legislative importance, and it is certain that the King himself would have been the first to discountenance any such compact. But none the less the impulse which prompted it was natural, and its sincerity is open to no doubt. When the blow fell, to a grim political outlook for the Prince and his followers there was added poignant grief for an irreparable loss. Amongst many virtues, the warmth of his domestic affections was not the least conspicuous quality of Charles I.'s character. His family life had been but a short one. The circle to which he was so passionately devoted was soon broken by the ruthless hand of civil war,

and had early to begin their painful training in the vicissitudes that attend helpless and needy aliens in foreign lands. Charles II. had learned to "put off the boy;" and if the experience of dealing with men and exercising some authority in his teens had given him an insight into human motives beyond his years, the rough debauchery of the camp had also given him a certain callousness of heart. But the deep affection of his father's heart left its impression on the lives of his children; and scattered though it was, that wandering family continued to be bound together by bonds of warm love throughout all their fortunes. The new King had need of all his courage to nerve himself, as he did with sprightly humour and indubitable courage, if with doubtful perseverance, for the long and often hopeless struggle that lay before him. He passed through the fire of adversity with less scathe than was afterwards wrought in him by the sunshine of prosperity. He deserves honour, with all his faults, for never having, throughout these long struggles, lost his happiness of humour, his buoyancy of courage, his constant kindliness to those who stood round him in misfortune, or—what was not least important—the proper sense of his own dignity. He soon heard from the Queen, whose grief, whatever its intensity, never overcame her innate love of power. With that sarcastic humour which never is quite absent when Hyde treats of the Queen-Mother, he tells how, "notwithstanding the great agony she was in, which without doubt was as great a passion of sorrow as she was able to sustain, she at once wrote to urge the King's return to France, and desired him to swear none to be of his Council till she could speak with him." The King was ready to pay all filial respect to his mother, but none the less he remembered what was due to himself. He had no mind to go to France, and there to renew his experiences of scant courtesy. On his own initiative, he named his Council, and

resolved, for the present, to rest his dependence on the Prince of Orange—a wise and a kindly Mentor. His father's advisers still commanded his confidence and respect. From the States of Holland, where the influence of the Prince of Orange was still high, he received such expressions of sympathy in his disasters as they might show without compromising themselves with the dominant powers in England; but he knew well enough how little he could rely upon any effective help from them. It was a question only how long he would be allowed to enjoy their furtive and somewhat timid hospitality.

He had now two possible places of refuge to look to, and from both there came pressing invitations. The affairs of Ireland looked promising enough, for the moment, for the Royalist cause, if only because despair had taught the Irish how little mercy they were like to find at the hands either of Parliament or army. The Scots, too, were incensed against the rough action of the Parliament. They had no wish to fortify an overstrained Royal prerogative; but the abolition of the monarchy and the extreme measures against the King were not only a violation of their Solemn League and Covenant (which recognized the maintenance of the frame of monarchical government as a religious duty), but were alien to all their national instincts. Against the proceedings of the army they lodged a protest, which to all outward appearance was solemn enough, even if it was of doubtful sincerity, and although it was followed by no effective action. The Scots were divided amongst themselves. There were amongst them those who would have given an ungrudging support to the Royalist cause. Their position was undermined by the treachery of Argyle, who affected an attachment to the monarchy, yet was at heart the close ally of Cromwell, determined to allow no effective authority to the King. He recognized that the nation's sympathy with its traditional

government was too strong to be resisted. But he knew also that their indomitable attachment to their own Church would make Scotsmen useful instruments in curbing the real influence of the Crown. Argyle was compelled to join in the invitation to the King to return to his Scottish people, but he managed to attach to that invitation conditions which were inconsistent with the honour of the King, and forced him to disown his father's acts, and to disavow his father's strongest principles. This was precisely the course which Hyde most feared, and which he knew would be most fatal to the Royalist cause in England; and in proportion to his suspicion of their specious offers, Hyde's inveterate hatred of the Scots increased. Lauderdale was at the Hague as the avowed emissary of Argyle. Adroit, arrogant, and overbearing, he was determined that Charles's return should be clogged with conditions that would have left him helpless in the hands of Argyle and himself. Hyde and he were foes of old, and their terms became no better now, even if an appearance of forbearance was necessary for the moment.

There was, however, still a powerful group of Scotsmen who had no mind to weight their fidelity to the Crown with any harsh conditions. Montrose was now at the Hague, flushed with the success of his recent campaign, from which he had been recalled only by the authority of the late King. He had the faults of his qualities, and his consciousness of the value of his own services made him little apt to yield to those whom he saw to be enemies in disguise. To serve the King he was ready to forget his former feuds, and to make common cause with all in Scotland who favoured the monarchy. But for him it was not to be a monarchy shorn of all its attributes, and transformed into the puppet of Argyle. He offered to join the new Duke of Hamilton—lately Earl of Lanark—who had now succeeded to his brother's title and estates, and to his influence as one of Scotland's

JAMES GRAHAM, FIRST MARQUIS OF MONTROSE.

(*From the original by Sir Anthony Vandyke.*)

most conspicuous leaders. The new Duke was a very different man from his brother, whose darker spirit and treacherous character had hitherto clouded his brother's life by their baneful influence. He had no love for Presbytery, and avowedly repented himself of the sorry part that he had been made to play. Left to himself he would not have been unwilling to join Montrose, and prosecute the Royalist cause as his ally. But Lauderdale and Argyle stood successfully in his way, and their influence fought against the more generous motives that inspired Montrose, and might have enlisted the sympathy of Hamilton. Montrose visited France in the hope that he might have the support of Queen Henrietta, and might induce Mazarin to give him effective aid. Hyde explains, in another of his sarcastic phrases, the position of the Queen. She "was in straits enough, and never open-handed, and used to pay the best services with receiving them graciously, and looking kindly upon those who did them. And her graces were still more towards those who were like to do services, than to those who had done them"—in other words, her gratitude was a lively sense of benefits to come. Such grudging mood was not likely to captivate the ardent spirit of Montrose, nor did he find that Mazarin was inclined to risk anything for the King. He had to seek for aid elsewhere.

Hyde was not blind to the faults of Montrose—to his occasional vanity, and to the rashness which often marred his romantic chivalry. But he was strongly inclined to see in Montrose the central pivot of Charles's hopes so far as Scotland was concerned. Hyde "believed his Majesty should bid Montrose very welcome, and prefer him before any other of that nation in his esteem." As he expresses it again in one of those happy phrases which show Hyde's unrivalled touch, he felt with those who "believed his clear spirit to be most like to advance the King's service." He did all he

could to bring Lauderdale over to the same way of thinking, but without success. Lauderdale replied by adducing, as unanswerable objections, Montrose's "barbarities and inhumanities." The Highland hordes, upon whose fiery bravery Montrose had had to depend, did not certainly carry on war in any gentle manner. On the battlefield they neither gave, nor asked for, quarter, and their habits taught them to look upon the foe who met them in the field as one who was to give or to exact expiation for a long tale of hereditary clan feuds. But it appeared that the "barbarities" consisted in the rough vengeance of the battle, and not in any vindictive cruelties done in cold blood. Scotland, as represented by Lauderdale, could forgive such savage reprisals as followed the Parliamentary victory at Philiphaugh, but not such slaughter on the battlefield at Inverlochy as cost Argyle fifteen hundred of his clan who fell before Montrose's Highland host, while Argyle saved himself by an ignoble flight. It was useless to argue with Lauderdale. He "swore with great passion" that he had sooner never see the King restored than that James Grahame should be permitted to come to Court. Hamilton would have been willing, had he been free to choose his own course, to serve with Montrose. But he saw that such an alliance would lead to a breach with Argyle, and so forbore.

The wrangle, so fatal to the Royalist cause, continued to rage until matters were made worse still by an act of misguided folly, in which Montrose's followers were deeply involved. A certain Dutchman, named Dorislaus, a native of Delft, had long resided in England, had been appointed a lecturer at Gresham College, and had afterwards been attached as Judge-Advocate to the army of Essex. He was now in favour with Cromwell, and arrived at the Hague as secret envoy to arrange terms between England and the States. On the very night of his arrival, the house of

entertainment, where he was supping in company with those who usually resorted there, was invaded by a band of armed men. They made no secret of the motive of their irruption, and met with no resistance. The general company were bidden not to stir; they had come only to do vengeance on the agent of the rebels in England, who had just murdered their King. They stabbed him to death on the spot, and left the eating-house at their leisure, making no secret of their deed. The incident shows clearly enough what the popular feeling at the Hague was. But it was none the less desperately embarrassing to the States, and it was no wonder that they found the King a guest whom they would willingly speed. It was not the least untoward circumstance that the deed had been done by Scotsmen, and these the servants of the Marquis of Montrose. That would not lessen the resentment of the new Commonwealth for the murder of their emissary.

It was time for the King to be gone. At first Ireland was to be his destination, and in reliance upon the promises he had received he resolved to try his fortunes there. The only question which was still in doubt was whether he should sail direct for Ireland, or should, in response to the urgent invitation of the Queen, visit her at Paris on the way. The decision involved much. To Hyde and those who held with him that the Queen's influence was detrimental to the cause, the opportunity for strengthening that influence which such a visit offered was distasteful. They well knew that once more the Queen would press the expediency of coming to terms with the Scottish Presbyterians. To her Roman Catholic advisers—above all to the new pervert Montague [1]—

[1] Walter Montague was the younger brother of Edward, second Earl of Manchester. Unlike him he had been closely attached to the Court, and had been employed in foreign missions. He was one of those who helped to arrange the marriage with Henrietta Maria, and this had brought him into close relations with France, and made him the friend and confidant

it mattered little that one form of heresy should be balanced by another. Neither Anglican Episcopacy nor Scottish Presbyterianism was to be valued save as a means of attaching adherents to the Crown. Hyde detested this as an abandonment of principle. He despised it as a piece of folly which would alienate the whole strength of English loyalty.

Before that journey to Ireland—which was never to take place—could be arranged, other matters supervened, which directly concerned Hyde, and one of which, by separating him from the King, weakened for a time his influence over the policy of the exiled Court. Ireland and Scotland, it was felt, might be convenient footholds, helping towards the recovery of the Royalist cause; but meanwhile was it wise to submit without protest to the present management of English affairs? Would it not be well to publish a Declaration, to indicate that the claims of the King were not in abeyance, and to serve as a rallying cry for his adherents at home? Ought not such a Declaration to indicate a certain policy as regards religion, and the terms upon which an amnesty might heal the breaches of the civil war? Who were to be considered as enemies beyond pardon, and to whom might be given hopes of indemnity which might induce them to join in resisting the usurping Government which their own acts had permitted to acquire a power that overrode the liberties of Englishmen?

Hyde rightly judged that such a Declaration might arouse dangers far more serious than those it sought to relieve. The opinions on religion varied infinitely, and any definite Declaration would either disappoint the hopes of the Presbyterians or shock the deepest feelings of the Anglican Royalists.

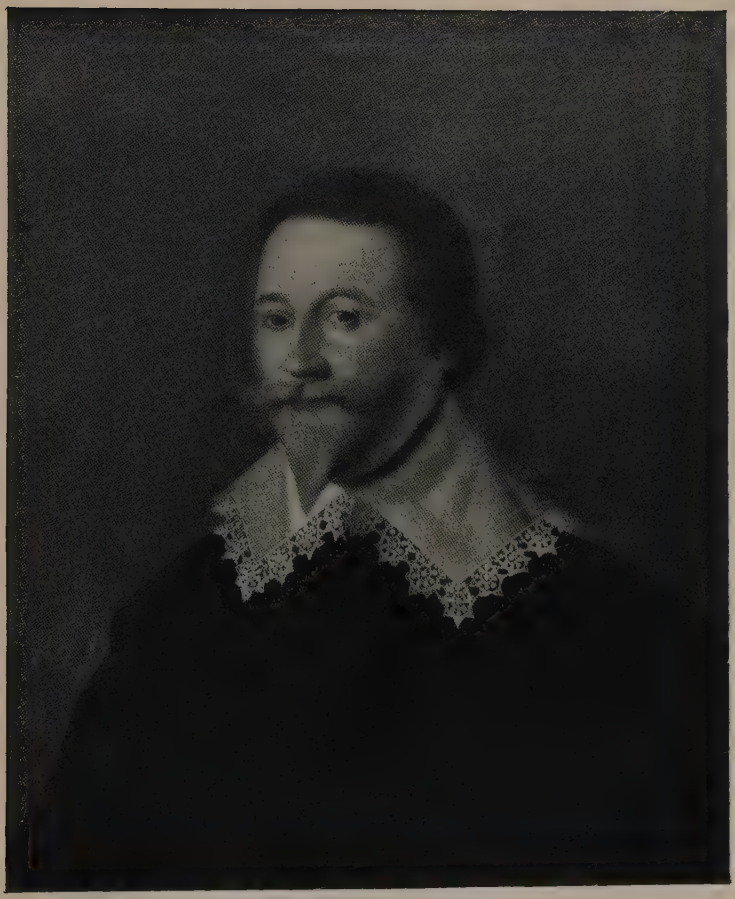
of the Queen. He became a Roman Catholic in 1634. At a later day he was in close alliance with the Royalist party, and was the go-between in an attempt to procure French assistance for the cause of the King. He was imprisoned, and afterwards banished by the Parliament, and in 1647 became Abbot of St. Martin's, at Pontoise. He died in 1677.

No truce could honourably be made with the regicides; and beyond the confines of the Regicide Court itself there were many who were as guilty as, or more guilty than, the actual members of that Court. A Declaration as to forfeitures would either obliterate the hopes of the despoiled Royalists, or array against the King a powerful body of those who did not wish to see a restoration of the Crown if that were to strip them of all that they had gained. Strangely enough, although it was Hyde who most decidedly shrank from any such Declaration, it was to Hyde that all looked as the man most fit to draft it. He played his part with his usual skill. The Declaration was drawn up. But as he confidently anticipated, it revealed, when read, as many different opinions as there were members of the Council. "The issue was, that, except two or three of the Council . . . there were not two persons who were admitted to the perusal of it who did not take some exception to it, though scarce two made the same exception." Without open opposition, which would only have confirmed the more obstinate, Hyde obtained his end. "It was more faintly debated." The difficulties became more apparent. At length "the Declaration slept, without further proposition to emit any." Once more Hyde's wary patience had saved the situation.

But another plan soon removed him for a time from attendance on the King, with very hurtful results. Cottington, the aged Lord Treasurer, devised a mission which seemed to promise good results, and which at least helped Cottington to a post which accorded with his own tastes. That old and shrewd statesman was wearied of the perpetual wrangles of the Court. His age prevented him from indulging hopes of seeing any restoration of the Crown. Meanwhile he saw a chance of aiding the cause of the King, and at any rate of allowing Cottington to revisit scenes which old associations had endeared to him, and to draw him more closely into the

bonds of that religion to which he had always felt a certain leaning. For long, Cottington's conformity to the Protestant religion had been formal only; and a full reconciliation to the Catholic faith would be an aid to that easing of conscience towards which his temperament inclined him. He had spent long years in Spain, and in returning there again he would find himself at home. A mission to Spain might help the King's resources, and strengthen his political alliances; and it would, at all events, bring Cottington back to familiar scenes, and give him the chance of ending his life in ease. He suggested to Hyde that they two should be joined in an embassy to Spain. If it did not help, at least it could not hurt, the King. For himself it could save him from attending the King in the hazardous scenes that seemed to lie before him. He shrank from the rigours of the winter in Holland. In France he would lie under suspicion as one pledged of old to the Spanish alliance. In Spain he would have the sun that his health demanded, and he would be amongst friendly surroundings. Cottington was one of those who generally found that their duty lay where their inclination prompted.

Hyde saw no reason to doubt the possible benefit of an application to Spain. When Cottington first proposed that Hyde himself should be one of the ambassadors he seemed to Hyde to be speaking in jest. But Cottington returned to the subject. Much was to be gained by the mission, of which the full fruit could not be gathered unless, in addition to his knowledge of the country and the language, he had Hyde's wisdom and energy to help his own failing strength. The King's voyage to Ireland was not likely to take place very soon, if he was to be subjected to the dilatory advice of his mother. The Chancellor of the Exchequer might finish his work in Spain, and yet be ready to join the King as soon as he would reach Ireland. There was much to tempt Hyde to accept the proposed embassy. He was ill



FRANCIS, BARON COTTINGTON.

(*From the original in the National Portrait Gallery. Painter unknown.*)

at ease in the exiled Court, and knew that he could count on no favour from the Queen. He was unwilling to desert the King in his need, for the sake of any personal comfort; but he was so far persuaded as to be ready to refer the matter to the King himself. Cottington knew how to present the matter tactfully to the King, and Hyde found that Charles, when he first spoke of it, was already prepossessed in favour of the plan. When it was generally known in the exiled Court, it provoked the usual crop of jealousies. Only the dominant Scotch faction were content, knowing that Hyde's removal would free them from the most pronounced opponent of acceptance by the King of their invitation, on the terms of a ratification of the Covenant; and that his absence would at the same time lessen the favour shown to their old enemy, Montrose. Colepepper was, as usual, angry that he had not been preferred to Hyde for such a mission; but Cottington was shrewd enough to decline such a troublesome companion. The matter was then settled; perhaps with some doubts on Hyde's part as to its expediency in the King's interest, but with full satisfaction to himself. He was not sorry to be away from his present surroundings, and he promised himself a new and refreshing experience in this mission to which, in later years, he looked back as his second period of "retreat." To prepare for it, he sent for his wife and children from England, and proposed to settle them during his absence in the security of Antwerp, where he had influence enough to make their sojourn pleasant.

When he had arranged for his family, Hyde's next business was to provide for his own journey; and it was with difficulty that means could be gathered to furnish the embassy even with a semblance of becoming state. The Prince of Orange advanced—out of his own rather scanty resources—twenty thousand pounds to the King; and out of this Hyde and Cottington received only what was enough to defray their

preliminary expenses. For the rest they had to trust to their own contrivance. They took leave of the King in May, 1649, and were conveyed in the yacht of the Prince of Orange to Antwerp, where Hyde met his wife and family; and after spending some days there they proceeded to Brussels, where they met the Spanish plenipotentiary, Le Brune, already on his way to visit Charles II. They sought audiences of the Archduke and of the Duke of Lorraine, who was then at the head of a large army, levied to support Spain against France. From the Archduke they obtained little help. The Duke of Lorraine was then high in the esteem and in the Councils of Spain, to which his vigorous aid was of supreme importance. With full capacity to maintain his dignity when needful, the Duke lived, with little state, and in the frankest and most jovial intimacy with the citizens of Brussels and their wives. He received the ambassadors cordially—perhaps induced to do so by the friendly introduction of Le Brune; and in spite of his proverbial thrift, Cottington's tact managed to procure from him a much-needed loan of two thousand pistoles. Never was embassy put to more degrading shifts than this of Cottington and Hyde. From Count Pignoranda and Count Fuensaldagna, who might be supposed to represent the feelings of the Spanish Court, the ambassadors received civility, but nothing more. They learned enough to show them that their visit to Madrid might not be very welcome.

Meanwhile the King had begun his journey to Ireland, in the course of which he was to visit the Queen. He proceeded first to Breda, thence to Antwerp, and so by Brussels and Cambray made his journey towards St. Germains. At each place he was received with the respect due to his rank. Le Brune had met him with friendly messages at Breda, and the Count Pignoranda paid him his respects at Antwerp. But the journey, which took him through

different territories, which were actually at war, was a hazardous one, and in his various encounters the King must have felt that he was treading on delicate ground, and that it was difficult to guess how much of cordial feeling lay beneath the show of civility.

Cottington and Hyde, who had come so far on their way to Spain, arrived at St. Germains soon after the King had joined his mother there. The situation was a perplexing one; and the factions and jealousies which had been rife at the Hague were redoubled here by the added elements of dissension arising in the Court of the Queen. The circumstances under which mother and son now met after years of separation were tragic enough. The grief, which on both sides was probably sincere, claimed the first two or three days; but after that, the grievances of the Queen and the anger arising from her frustrated ambition had full play. She insisted upon discussing all political plans, and was bitterly disappointed when, instead of complete resignation to her advice, she found the King reserved. He told her plainly that while he would perform his duty towards her "with great affection and exactness, he must in his business obey his own reason and judgment." Her passionate expostulations, which broke out at each interview, he met by abrupt withdrawals, and it soon became clear that no very cordial relations could be maintained until the Queen understood and accepted the new position of affairs, and learned that the duty of a son did not imply the resigning, or even the sharing of, his authority by the King.

It was against Hyde that the Queen had always charged the lessening of her authority; strangely enough, it was to Hyde that she now resorted in her trouble. She felt that the lowering of her position had been carried further than Hyde would have desired, and that other and more hostile forces must be at work to undermine her influence. Thomas

Elliot, whom Charles I. had formerly dismissed from attendance on the Prince, had now recovered his influence over Charles II., and had lately joined the Court as one of the Grooms of the Bedchamber. He made the most of such authority as he had over the King, and took no pains to conceal his scanty regard either for the late King or the Queen. He contrived to insinuate to the King that he would lose popularity "if he were thought to be governed by his mother." In other words, he infused into the mind of Charles a motive of petty personal pride, in place of the grave and moderating guidance of public duty, as the controlling influence in his relations to the Queen. He managed to estrange the affections of the King from the Earl of Bristol and his son, Lord Digby. His insolence grew; and as the dispenser of favours, he contrived to persuade Charles to nominate Colonel Windham as Secretary of State. Windham's sole qualifications for the post were that he was father-in-law to Elliot, and that his wife had been Charles's nurse. We have already seen that the family had given Hyde some trouble.[1]

All this had embittered the feuds at Court, already violent enough. Hyde found himself at once appealed to. Bristol and Digby breathed out their griefs to him and Cottington. The King recounted his annoyances with his mother's grasping ambition; the Queen poured forth her anger at his lack of reverence and even of filial duty. She was exposed to the insolence of the upstart Elliot, whom her husband had detested; and knew that with Windham as Secretary, she would have another implacable enemy in the confidence of the King. For this occasion she was content to have Hyde's assistance, and assured him how fully she recognized his faithful service, and how well she knew the confidence her husband had always placed in him.

Hyde carried her tale of grievances to the King, who was

[1] See *ante*, p. 263.

only too ready to have a wise and kindly arbitrator. He desired, he said, nothing better than to live on good terms with his mother, but on business he must be reserved. Her hostility against Elliot and Windham was ill-founded and unjust. Windham, he declared, would soon learn the little business that had to be done as Secretary. Hyde could only counsel some delay. It was left to Cottington's happy tact to devise a means of diverting Charles's purpose. Hard argument had little weight with the King, but he did not lack the sense of humour. Cottington did not imitate the grave advice of Hyde, or the angry protests of the Queen and Digby. He attacked the difficulty in another way.

"Very gravely" (according to his custom who never smiled when he made others merry) "he made a suit to the King on behalf of an old servant, who was, as he verily believed, one of the best falconers in England. The King asked what he could do for the man. Cottington recognized that the King was in no position to keep falconers, and if he were, the old man was past his work. But he was an honest man, and could read well and audibly; so he begged that his Majesty would make him his chaplain. So earnestly was this said that the King asked him, with a smile, what he meant. 'The falconer,' said Cottington, 'was as fit to be chaplain as Windham was to be Secretary of State.'"

This produced an involuntary laugh from those who heard it, and the matter was settled. The project of Windham's secretaryship was quietly dropped.

The wrangles and disputes in the exiled Court were silenced, if not ended, by the pressure of adversity. Charles was on the eve of starting for Ireland, in response to the optimistic reports that told him he had only to appear there to be received with acclamation. Those who were to prepare his way had already sailed, and his own baggage had gone ahead But stern facts were beforehand with him. Cromwell had

crossed to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, and only a short space of time placed the country completely at his mercy, and made it hopeless for the King to go there with the aim of reviving the Royalist cause. Some other destination must be found, and the settlement of the place for his new attempt must be postponed. Patience must again be exercised, and the turn of affairs must be awaited. But he could no longer stay at St. Germains, and so moved to Jersey, where, for a time at least, he could hope for some security.

Cottington and Hyde were left to carry out their mission to Spain, and it was with no high hopes that they set out upon the task. They sent a message for a pass to Madrid to meet them at St. Sebastian, and sought to engage a house in the Spanish capital. Sir Benjamin Wright, an English merchant there, was to do his best to ascertain the temper of the Spanish Court. While at Paris they had asked audiences from the Queen-Mother of France, the Duke of Orleans, Prince Condé, and Cardinal Mazarin. The Duke and Prince Condé were then in active opposition to Mazarin, and it was no easy task to enlist the favour of powers so vigorously hostile to one another. The Queen-Mother was content to send by them a message of good-will to the King of Spain. Orleans refused even that much, and roughly told them that he had nothing to do with Spain. Condé excused himself from seeing them, and the Cardinal sent a message to Don Lewis de Haro, the chief minister of Spain, proffering his own earnest services to secure a peace with Spain—a message which, when it was accepted by Don Lewis, the Cardinal shamelessly disavowed. Hardly a send-off which could enhance their estimation as ambassadors!

At the end of September they set out upon their journey.

[1] There is a very interesting journal of the embassy, and of all its incidents, in a note-book, written by William Edgeman, Hyde's secretary, and now

At Bordeaux they found hostilities in active progress between the people and the royal Government, and had hard work to make their way onward amid the clash of armed forces. From Bordeaux they proceeded to Bayonne, and passing through St. Jean de Luz, they took boat, three weeks after leaving Paris, to cross into Spanish territory, and announced their arrival to the Governor of St. Sebastian. At Fontarabia and its neighbourhood they saw the ruins wrought by recent war. At Gerona, in spite of alarms of war, the inquisitors found time to visit their lodgings soon after their arrival and search their books and papers; but the stern demands of the censor, although pressed by a priest "of a large size and a very barbarous aspect and behaviour," were easily settled by a small douceur. At St. Sebastian they found a more courteous reception, and were left in quiet at the lodgings duly provided for them.

But news soon reached them which showed the difficulties that would have to be met, and the small respect which was to be paid to the exiled Court and to the claims of the King. It was evidently thought to be a hazardous matter to give recognition to any opposition to the new Commonwealth. The chief magistrate called, and with due apologies showed them a letter from the Secretary of State, in which he was told to receive "the ambassadors from the Prince of Wales" with all respect, but if possible to persuade them to stay where they were, until further instructions were received. They received also a letter from Sir Benjamin Wright, in which he told them that their pass to Madrid was made out only under the same designation, and that delay had occurred in providing lodgings for them in Madrid. To show impatience might involve the hopeless failure of their mission;

preserved amongst the Clarendon MSS. in the Bodleian. It begins on May 27, 1649, and ends on November 11, 1654, and its account tallies so closely with Hyde's that we may well suppose that the Chancellor borrowed the book to refresh his own memory.

but it was impossible to accept the character of ambassadors of the Prince of Wales. To abandon the proper designation of their master was equivalent to a surrender of his rights. They at once announced that while they might delay their journey to Madrid, they must insist on being received as the ambassadors of the King, or must at once return. The reply showed how shifty the policy of the Spanish Court was. Don Lewis de Haro apologized for the error, and imputed it to the negligence of the Secretary. Passes were sent in proper style, and they were "assured of a very good welcome from his Majesty." Such vacillation, if it showed some recognition of the hopes of the Royalist party, yet gave little expectation of effective assistance.

Sir Benjamin Wright at the same time wrote to announce that steps were being taken to provide a house, and that other preparations were being made for their reception. In November they left St. Sebastian and, passing into Castile, they made a stay at Burgos, to view the bull-fight at the invitation of the magistrates. The authorities were evidently determined that, so far as mere courtesy went, nothing should be markedly omitted.

When they reached the neighbourhood of Madrid, they paused in their journey until they should hear more from Sir Benjamin Wright; when he met them, it was to tell them that matters were no farther advanced. Polite evasions were all that could be extorted from Don Lewis. It was clear that Cardenas, the ambassador in England, had contrived to inspire the Spanish Court with fears of rousing the enmity of Cromwell by any concessions to the emissaries of Charles. They were obliged to avail themselves of Sir Benjamin's hospitality, and to him alone they were indebted for the power of maintaining a semblance of proper dignity, although their formal reception by the Court was still delayed. The utmost they could obtain was a meeting with Don

Lewis *incognito*, without any formal ceremony. At that interview he expressed his sympathy with the sufferings of the English Court, and promised more attention when the festivities, on account of the approaching royal marriage, were over.[1] An invitation to the ambassadors to attend the great bull-fight, in honour of the marriage, was sent as a pledge of his good intentions. Don Lewis's object was only to gain time, in order to judge of the turn of affairs.

They accepted the invitation, more from a wish not to reject any show of civility than because such a ceremony suited either their taste or their present circumstances, and Hyde thus saw the national sport in all its savage repulsiveness. It was evidently unpleasing to him, and he recounts with repugnance its sanguinary results—some sixteen horses brutally done to death, and four or five men killed, besides a large number seriously injured. He tells us how deeply the love of such spectacles had penetrated the people, and how the power of the King himself—even had he not personally patronized it—could not have extirpated it. Even the unrepealed Bull of Pius V. failed to prevent the presence of the clergy, although in that Bull it was prohibited on pain of excommunication. Hyde had enough of the philosopher in his composition not to remit his observation on a strange freak of national manners, from any preoccupation about the snares that lay about his mission.[2]

[1] The marriage of Philip IV., who was a widower, to Marie Anne, the daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand III.

[2] Even in trifles it is amusing to observe how Professor Gardiner never omits an opportunity of belittling Hyde. There had, it appears, been some talk of the ambassadors witnessing an *auto de fé*, although the suggestion was abandoned. Gardiner, in speaking of Hyde's leaving Spain, records it thus: "Hyde, who earlier in the year had been baffled in an attempt to witness an *auto de fé*, had now to leave without an opportunity of adding so edifying a spectacle to his memories of travel" (*Commonwealth*, i. 344). This unworthy taunt is based only upon the statement in Edgeman's Journal that the presence of the ambassadors at such a scene had been thought of, but that "the journey was put off, to *his* (Edgeman's) great regret."

It was a proof that opinion throughout Europe was still in suspense as regards events in England, that the other ambassadors at Madrid showed no backwardness in paying their respects. Until the reception by the King, such visits were informal; but they were none the less an indication of some cordiality of feeling. It gave to Hyde new opportunities of studying upon a wider stage than any he had yet moved in, the personal peculiarities of many of those who were dominant figures in the politics of Europe.

But an audience must be pressed for, and was at length conceded. Hyde hoped that such an audience might help to smooth more material matters. A preliminary difficulty arose as to the reception of the ambassadors in mourning dress, which was evidently that becoming in the circumstances, but might perhaps have committed the Spanish King further than was safe. The excuse of the marriage festivities served as a ground for dispensing for the day with the emblems of mourning, and this concession the ambassadors deemed it expedient to make. Each step in the conduct of an embassy, which was, as it turned out, the only formal mission of the sort ever sent by Charles to any Court during his exile, craved the most wary management; and great dexterity was, above all, essential in a Court which demanded such exact obedience to formal ceremonial, as did that of Spain.

When the audience was fixed, horses were sent from the Court, that the ambassadors, according to the rule for the first audience, should ride to Court. Attended by their servants, and by a numerous suite of English merchants, and of Irish officers in the Spanish army, Hyde and Cottington proceeded, with a large cavalcade, to the presence of the King. They were received with all respect, and presented their credentials. The King expressed "a very tender sense" of his royal brother's condition, and properly lamented the impious rebellion against his father. His own affairs,

alas! prevented his power of interference; but were a peace arranged with France, his cousin of England would find all the readiness to help his cause that he could desire. This was a useful hint as to gratitude which would be earned by any good offices at the Court of France. The rest of the audience consisted of more free discourse as to current topics.

Inconclusive as it was, the interview produced certain effects. The ambassadors were provided with a house, and a royal coach was assigned them. They had obtained, as the representatives of Charles, a position before the world that at least preserved them from any sordid indignity or contempt. They did not cease to prosecute their objects amid the unfamiliar surroundings of the Spanish Court; and had useful aid from a son of Windebanke, the former English Secretary of State, a young man then living in Spain, and able, from his father's former relations there, to maintain some sort of connection with the Court. Wright still continued to be their almoner, and to help them in the management of their modest establishment. Hyde could always beguile his tedium by studying the strange methods of the Spanish Council and pourtraying the characters of those who composed it. In a few words he has painted for us Don Lewis, called to power by no personal ability or persevering ambition, but by the accidental friendship of the King; with fair industry, the more commendable that it was against his own inclination; honest and well-natured, but with few gifts either natural or acquired; with none of the confidence that comes from consciousness of power, and weighed down by the melancholic hypochondria to which his nation was no stranger, and to which the circumstances of his country gave only too much ground. With her power shattered and her national genius decadent, Spain for her revival demanded a statesman of genius, and a generation later she seemed almost to have found one. But now her

destiny was in the hands of a timid, shifty, and melancholy dullard, with no arts of popularity and no spring of courage. The rest of the Council were, as a rule, fit colleagues for such a premier. The impression Hyde gives us of them is that of a group of solemn, peevish, doubtfully honest, and generally decrepit, grandees. The son of the modest country gentleman who felt within himself the power, and who, even in adverse currents, was already forced to accept the burden, of guiding State affairs in a desperate crisis, was not likely to feel much admiration for such relics of a decayed aristocracy.

The ambassadors resolved to make a new effort to press their master's affairs, and, at a private audience of the King, they proposed a renewal of the treaty between the Crowns, and urged the assistance Spain might render to the Royalist cause in Ireland. The answer they received, after due consideration, postponed the renewal of the treaty "until times should mend," and gave little prospect of efficacious help in Ireland. It remained only to prosecute their attempt to gain some little assistance in money or arms from the scanty resources, and grudging benevolence, of the Spanish Crown. That was clearly a matter which could not be hurried, and to pass the time of waiting, Hyde, with his usual untiring industry, betook himself to the study of Spanish literature, and took up again the Commentary on the Psalms, which he had begun in Jersey.

A momentary gleam of hope came to their mission from the sudden appearance of Prince Rupert with his fleet upon the coast of Spain. This was a solid evidence of power that outweighed many subtle calculations of policy with a crew of craven time-servers, and the ambassadors found a new cordiality extended to them, as the plenipotentiaries of a titular sovereign who could adduce such proofs of his authority. The governors of the ports were ordered to open them freely to the fleet, and the utmost readiness was shown

to extend assistance to a cause that appeared so able to dispense with it.

"But," says Hyde sadly, "the Government of these benign stars was very short." The Prince's fleet was stronger in appearance than reality. Rupert lost in a storm at Carthagena a large contingent of his fleet, and took refuge with the rest at Lisbon. Popham soon appeared off the coast with a far stronger fleet belonging to the English Commonwealth, and sent his demands in no timid tone to the Government of Spain. His masters "were willing to live in amity and good intelligence with his Catholic majesty, but knew very well how to do themselves right for any injury or discourtesy which they should sustain." The beams of temporizing civility which shone on Hyde and Cottington were soon dispersed; and another state of things accrued when Rupert was confined to the rivers of Portugal, and saw himself forced to try conclusions with a much superior fleet. All that he could obtain was to be allowed a day's start of Popham; and Popham, with his prey snatched from his clutches, took ample vengeance upon the weakness of Portugal. Only a little later Hyde and Cottington learned that Charles had been forced to abandon his hopes of a successful rising in Ireland, and that he had laid aside his purpose of going there. Cromwell now held Ireland in a firm grasp, and had established his domination by a ruthless cruelty that has rarely been paralleled in the annals of civilized warfare. Some other scene had to be found for any attempt to revive Royalist hopes; and never were Hyde's presence and advice more urgently required by the King than now, while he and Cottington were vainly attempting to arouse a feeble interest in, and elicit a scanty measure of assistance from, a crafty and timid ally abroad.

In Scotland there still appeared to be a prevalent desire for a restoration of the King. Argyle felt it to be too strong

for resistance, and his only hope was that, if the King repaired to Scotland, it would be under conditions so dishonouring and so crippling to his authority, that Argyle would be in reality the master. His chief difficulty was how to reconcile even that degree of support to the Royalist reaction with the friendship which he desired to maintain with Cromwell. Would Cromwell be content to permit a nominal monarchy in Scotland, secure that a puppet King would be kept in such subjection as would prevent any interference with his own rule in England ?

It was plain that Jersey could not long serve as a secure resting-place for the King. When their hands were free, it would be no hard task for the forces of the Commonwealth to reduce it. With danger threatening, those who had urged the expediency of coming to terms with the Scots became more persistent; and the Queen was fully persuaded that this offered the only chance of success, or even of safety. France might at any time pass from the phase of studied neglect to that of active hostility, as her understanding with Cromwell became closer. Charles met the Queen, at her own earnest request, at Beauvais, in Picardy, and passed on to Breda, where he was to meet the Scottish Commissioners, and arrange these terms which she pressed him urgently to accept. At Breda, he found the Commissioners determined to insist upon all the old severity of conditions. He was to come with no chaplain of his own, and both he and all permitted to attend him were to be compelled to sign the Covenant before entering the Kingdom. "Very fair warning indeed," says Hyde; "nor could any man justly except against anything that was afterwards done to him."

But in spite of all the drawbacks, the inducements to accept the offers of the Scots were strong. Faint though the hope was, scarcely any other course seemed open. The

Queen and her adherents urged it keenly. The wiser advice of the Prince of Orange went in the same direction, and the opposition of the Anglican Episcopacy could not weigh for much with Charles himself. The Duke of Buckingham and Lord Wilmot were ready to venture themselves with the King in Scotland, and for them the signing of a covenant, more or less, was but a jest. Cottington and Hyde were as suspicious as ever of the good faith of the Scots, and foresaw the shock which would be given to the Royalists in England by the terms which the Presbyterian leaders in Scotland would extort from the King. They guessed that the disasters which had attended Hamilton's ill-fated attempt would be repeated on a larger scale. They would fain have rejoined Charles, and dissuaded him from the voyage. But the opposite faction had no mind to have their plans frustrated, and they were ordered to remain at their posts in Spain, and to prosecute a hopeless embassy.

Before Charles went to Scotland, he had allowed Montrose to make one more gallant effort to retrieve his cause. No aid could be found for the Marquis, either in Holland or from France. But Montrose was one whose courage never failed. He resorted to Denmark and Sweden, and finally to Germany, to see what troops he could gather, were it only by the glamour of his own name. He accomplished little, and for the most part found himself forestalled by the emissaries of the Commonwealth. He could sail with no more than five hundred men, and he had to trust mainly to his own magic influence with the Highland clans. To them he again appealed, and they flocked to his standard. But Argyle had his military forces better organized, and a very brief campaign ended in the defeat and capture of the Marquis. He and some thirty other leading men of the true Royalist party in Scotland were condemned to death, and were executed with every device of insult and cruelty that could

gratify the malignity of Argyle and his faction.[1] Once more a gallant contingent of loyal adherents had been encouraged to waste their lives in a hopeless attempt. Charles was told that Montrose's rebellion had been crushed in the interests of the Crown. He was compelled to accept an explanation which was at once an insult and a threat. When he landed at Aberdeen, it was to see the limbs of Montrose bleaching on its gates. He was forced to accept the Covenant, to acknowledge the guilt of his father, to renounce his mother's sins, and. in a word, he found himself a degraded prisoner in the hands of Argyle, with nothing but the empty symbols of royalty attached to his person.

There was something grimly humorous in the position in which Hyde now found himself. Detesting any resort to Scottish assistance, he was nevertheless forced to make the best of it, and to represent the important advance in the Royalist cause that was evinced in the King's acceptance as undoubted sovereign by the northern kingdom; and strange to say, he found the Spanish Court powerfully influenced by the apparent accession of authority thus brought to the cause of Charles. He was fain to make the most of what he knew to be but a hollow farce.

Charles remained for three months, cut off from his friends, under a galling tutelage, and harassed by those uncouth surroundings that made him look back with regret even on the humiliations that he had suffered as a wandering exile, begging a precarious support from grudging and doubting alms-givers. It is scarcely wonderful that under such an experience the iron of cynicism entered into his soul, that a character naturally brave, courteous, and not unkindly, was permanently warped, and that he learned to look upon human action as influenced chiefly by selfishness, furious fanaticism, and impenetrable deceit. And yet

[1] May, 1650.

during these weary months the notion was diligently fostered that the Royal cause had received powerful aid. At the same moment his adherents in England were in deeper despair than they had ever been, and suffered at every turn some new proof of the vindictive spirit of their foes. Nor did the embassy in Spain fare better. A deed of violence, in which some of their own followers were implicated, and which bore a singular resemblance to the assassination of Dorislaus at the Hague, complicated their mission at Madrid. There one Ascham, the envoy of the Commonwealth, was killed by some Royalist exiles. The murder aroused no angry feeling amongst the Spanish populace, whose sympathies were more hearty than those of their rulers; but a situation of great difficulty was thus created, which all but extinguished any hopes that Hyde and Cottington might still cherish. Only the strict adherence to the rights of ambassadors which prevailed in Spain saved them from serious personal danger, but fortunately they found themselves well supported by the strong feeling of the ambassadors from other States, who felt bound to insist upon those rights. Even Don Lewis himself went so far as to express his "envy of those gentlemen for having done so noble an action." Doubtless he held other language to the offended Commonwealth.

Meanwhile Cromwell took prompt steps to check even the semblance of adherence to the Crown in Scotland. Assuming personally the command in Scotland, he sent the bulk of his forces there by sea. Illness prostrated him for six weeks; but as soon as he had recovered, he marched against the Scottish army, and by out-manœuvring, and inducing them to quit an advantageous position, he inflicted on them a decisive defeat at Dunbar.[1] For the moment that defeat, by crushing the pretensions of Argyle, seemed rather to

[1] September, 1650.

improve the position of the King. But it had no such aspect in Spain. There the news of the victory of Cromwell seemed to dissipate the last hopes of the Royalist party. Hyde and Cottington found the civilities of the Court abated, and very direct hints were given them that their stay should not be prolonged. They attempted to correct the impression, but found that no credit was given to their account, and the hints about their departure became more urgent. In spite of the untoward season for travelling, they were pressed to hasten their going, and Hyde suspected that one reason for this haste was to conceal from them the arrival of a shipload of pictures from King Charles's palaces which had been sold by the orders of Parliament, and which his former ally of Spain had not been ashamed to acquire, probably at moderate price. Cottington's work was over, and his only wish was to close his days in peace. Spain offered him the best asylum, and for his residence in Spain, reconciliation with the Roman Catholic Church, which had always appealed to his not very earnest religious views, was as convenient as it was pleasing to himself. That reconciliation was now effected, and the old statesman, with the concurrence of the Spanish authorities, bade farewell to his friend, and, quitting his ambassadorial functions, retired to Valladolid. There he died a year later in his seventy-seventh year. Hyde fully appreciated his ripe wisdom, his rare command of temper, and the calm courage with which he had pursued his way. Amongst his gifts not the least was an abundant faculty of quiet humour.

"His greatest fault was that he could dissemble, and make men believe that he loved them very well, when he cared not for them. . . . He was heartily weary of the world, and no man was more willing to die, which is an argument that he had peace of conscience. He left behind him a greater esteem of his parts than love to his person."

The portrait is coloured by no enthusiastic regard, but it has all the living reality which Hyde knew so well how to impart.

Hyde had failed in his mission, but he had earned personal friendship and respect. The gift bestowed on him, according to the habit of the time, at his departure, was so far below the usual scale that he was tempted to decline it;[1] but Cottington's wise advice and his own necessity induced him to accept a supply which an empty purse made welcome. He quitted Spain with a handsome introduction to the authorities in Flanders, and was thereby enabled to rejoin his family and live in comparative comfort at Antwerp for a time. As he passed through France, he found that there also, as in Spain, Cromwell's success at Dunbar was believed to have extinguished the last hopes of his master. It was no small injury to that cause that the Prince of Orange, whose intervention on Charles's behalf had often been efficacious, died in his prime, and left the prospects of his yet unborn son at the mercy of the powerful faction that disputed his rights, and for many years virtually set them aside. Spain was as much elated as France was depressed by an event which so powerfully affected their rival interests. As Hyde passed through France, he found also that there were new elements of dispeace in the household of the Queen. There were serious differences between her and the Duke of York; and an important section of the Royalist party were bitterly estranged by the peremptory prohibition of any Protestant service in the house of the Queen. Hyde did what he could to compose these disputes, and to impress the Queen with the impolicy of her open preference of the Roman Catholics to those who formed the real strength of the King's party in England.

[1] It was an odd, and one would have thought not a very dignified, habit which made an ambassador's emoluments depend largely on such gifts. But Hyde speaks of it as a recognized custom.

CHAPTER XIII

CROMWELL'S PROTECTORATE

The time was now approaching when Charles was to make a more resolute bid for the recovery of his power. There was in Scotland a large body of Royalist adherents, upon whom the brunt of the defeat at Dunbar had not fallen, and who had no mind to follow the lead of Argyle. The King gave the first sign of his recovered independence by making his escape from Stirling, where he was under Argyle's close observation, and betaking himself, for a short time, to the fastnesses of the neighbouring Highlands. This escapade—"The Start," as it was called—had little prudence or design, but it served to show his resentment at his subjection, and that resentment found an echo in the breasts of his more faithful adherents. Argyle was obliged to lessen his pretensions. Parliament was summoned in the King's name, and preparations were made for his coronation at Scone. Charles had spent the winter between Perth and Stirling, where he strengthened his hold upon the people; and now Cromwell was making preparations at Edinburgh for the coming campaign. By midsummer, in 1651, the two armies—for Charles had now levied a very considerable force—faced one another on the Highland borders. For a time Charles might have withdrawn to the inaccessible parts of the Highlands; but this would have been an admission of weakness, and a guerilla warfare there could

have had little practical result. By successful manœuvring he was able to gain a march upon Cromwell, in advancing upon England, where he hoped to gather adherents as he progressed. His approach caused some trepidation to the English Parliament, but they were reassured by Cromwell; "he would overtake the enemy before they should give them any trouble." Monk was left in charge of Scotland, and Cromwell, with full confidence in his own power, prepared to follow the King. Once on the move, his advance was rapid. The King did his best to sustain the spirits of his army, but the outlook was far from bright. David Lesley, his chief general, was depressed, and the King rallied him in vain. "How could he be sad," he asked, "at the head of so brave an army?" "He was melancholy," answered Lesley, "for he well knew that army, how well so ever it looked, would not fight." In this spirit they reached Worcester—as favourably situated as any spot in England for the purpose of the King, and his army of twenty thousand men might surely give a good account of themselves. But depression still prevailed, and was deepened by messages of disaster from outlying forces of his own adherents. The Earl of Derby was defeated, and other valuable leaders were lost. Dissensions prevailed amongst the King's own officers, and Lesley made no secret of his increasing fears. They had only a few days to wait for Cromwell's advance, and the fatal fight of Worcester[1] soon put an end to all hope of martial resistance to the power of the Commonwealth. The King's army was absolutely dispersed. The Duke of Hamilton fell, and died a prisoner a few days later. The chivalrous and high-spirited Earl of Derby had rejoined the King and, after the battle, accompanied him to Boscobel. He was intercepted on his return to the north, made prisoner, and after a trial which was a mockery of justice, was executed

[1] September, 1651.

on October 5th.[1] The King himself escaped, only to wander, a hunted fugitive, for months before he managed to make his way across the Channel. He reached Rouen in November, after a dire experience of hardships, amidst which his life was almost miraculously saved by a devotion—in which his Catholic subjects could claim no small share—paralleled only by that shown to his grand-nephew, a century later, by the loyal clansmen of the Highland glens.

Through all these tragic events, following in quick succession, Hyde had been but a distant and anxious onlooker. During the latest weeks he had, with others, despaired of the safety of the King. At last the message came that the King had arrived in Paris, and commanded his attendance there. A counter message also reached him from Mr. Long, the King's secretary, prompted by the Queen, bidding him wait for further orders. But Hyde was in no mood to be parted from his master by any pettiness of Court intrigue. He arrived in Paris at Christmas, and learned the machinations of the Queen, who was shrewd enough to make the best of the situation, and received him with outward graciousness. When Hyde had determined on his line of duty, it required strong agency to divert his purpose. At Paris he found the Marquis of Ormonde, who, after Cromwell's complete subjugation of Ireland, had managed to escape to Normandy. These two, who were now trusty friends, met once more, and henceforward they pursued one wholehearted policy in their master's service, broken by no

[1] James Stanley, seventh Earl of Derby, born in 1606, was one of the many adherents of the King whose efforts on his behalf were stimulated by no selfish motive. He had never been a courtier, and preferred the life of a country gentleman (with the cultivation of literary tastes) to that which prevailed at Court. When war broke out, he did good service in many fights, and after all was lost in England, he held his "kingdom" of the Isle of Man in defiance of the Parliament. His wife was the famous Charlotte de Tremouille, daughter of the Duc de Thouars. At Worcester he was severely wounded; but this did not prevent him from giving an escort to the King in the first part of his wanderings.

suspicion of bad faith or even of divergent opinion. "The King," Hyde tells us, "was abundantly satisfied in the friendship they had for each other, and trusted them both entirely; nor was it in the power of any, though it was often endeavoured by persons of no ordinary account, to break or interrupt that natural confidence between them, during the whole time the King remained beyond the seas." Hyde acknowledged that, without the help of Ormonde, the task that lay before him would have been beyond his powers.[1]

In the Court, besides the pressure of poverty, there was trouble enough. The Duke of York was anxious to enter upon the active business of soldiering, and was tired of being kept inactive and in tutelage. Selfish and intriguing confidants sought to strengthen their own influence by urging him to take a position of independence. The Queen and King were both perplexed, and hesitated at the risk. Sir John Berkeley, for whom Hyde had no respect, and whose inveterate love of sordid intrigue was yet to bring him more trouble, was the chief of these advisers, and endeavoured to make it appear to the Duke that Hyde was the great opponent of the scheme. He was also soliciting a place on the Council for himself, with the post of Master of the Wards, falsely alleging that he had the promise of the post from the late King. For the Council he was not deemed fit; and to revive a now obsolete post in his favour was, as Hyde perceived, an imminent danger to the Royal cause. Charles had agreed to abandon the prerogative of wardship, which was the object of hatred to the aristocracy on whom his hopes depended. The ambitious intrigues of Berkeley were frustrated. In spite of his importunity, Charles "prevailed with himself, which he used not to do in such

[1] In 1646, as we have seen, Hyde had not even met Ormonde. The years of exile had quickly brought them into close relations.

cases, to give him a positive denial, and reprehension, at once."[1] Hyde had done a good service in strengthening the King's resolution; but it was at the cost of gaining an inveterate and unscrupulous foe.

Not the least impediment in all the dreary time that was to follow proceeded from the degrading and grinding poverty of the Court. Very shame compelled the French Court to make some provision for the necessities of their Royal guest, the near kinsman of the French King, and at length an allowance of six thousand pistoles was doled out to him. But it was already heavily forestalled to the Queen, and she abated none of her claims. The King himself often knew not how to raise twenty pistoles. His most trusted advisers were unpaid, and forced to irksome straits. Ormonde and Hyde lodged obscurely, and for board and lodging paid a pistole a week each. They were compelled to trudge about the streets afoot, contrary to the custom usual amongst the gentlemen of France. Meanwhile Jermyn, selfish as usual, abated nothing of his usual luxury, kept an expensive table, and drove his carriage with the best. The Queen cared more for her favourite's ease than for the dignity of her son.

Hyde suffered his own privations bravely, and confined himself to waiting quietly the issue of affairs. During the next few years his part in politics was an obscure one. The events beyond the seas in England passed before him like figures on a stage, which he could not directly influence. He was anxious only that no rash attempt should be made, and that the policy of non-intervention, which he was convinced was the wisest, should not be broken. He had constant correspondents in England, but was obliged to guide his course without that immediate contact with the changing conditions of his country which was urgently

[1] *Rebellion*, xiii. 126.

necessary, and the loss of which told heavily, both now and later, to the detriment of his influence. So far as Hyde's biography is concerned, these years were, to all appearance, a time of inaction; and we can pass them only briefly in review, eventful and fateful as they were in the history of England.

The usual difficulties of mutual jealousies were still in full force about the Court. The Queen and Jermyn were as anxious as ever to cultivate alliances that would have been distasteful to the Royalists of England. The Queen, as fervid Catholic, and Jermyn, as having no care for religion at all, were both eager that Charles should conciliate the Nonconformists by attending the Presbyterian rites in the church at Charenton. To this Hyde was vehemently opposed, and he succeeded in bringing Charles to his views. It was strange that at this very time overtures came from the Highlands of Scotland, urging once more the prevalence in their country of Royalist views, and suggesting new attempts in that direction. But they did so under conditions; and the foremost of these was that any negotiations should be conducted through Hyde, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and should not be communicated to the Queen or Jermyn. The concessions which these last were anxious to see extended to the Presbyterians, evidently proved little to the liking of the Scottish Royalists, whom they fancied that they would conciliate. The King urged upon Hyde the charge of fostering this forlorn hope from Scotland, to which he was strongly averse. He foresaw, what proved to be the case, that the Queen would soon learn the facts, and that her jealousy would be redoubled by her own exclusion from these counsels. His own view was that the Royal cause would best be helped by resting quietly, and waiting for events to ripen; but at the urgent request of the King he was compelled to undertake the irksome task. No

good results came of it. It only showed how early the Stuart cause had won the loyal, although now ineffectual, support of the Highlands.

The dissensions at the Court of France, and the fierce contentions between the Cardinal and Prince Condé, made the position of Charles and his mother still more precarious. So dangerous did it seem that, with the assent of both the contending factions in France, the English Court moved from Paris to St. Germains. But no hazards and no difficulties rendered the little cliques in that Court less hostile to one another, or lessened the fierce pursuit of places and honours which were, in reality, but empty names. No King in the plenitude of authority was more worried than was Charles by the shameless competitors for the phantom honours of titular place and precedence which were all he had to dispense. At some future day these might mean something. Meanwhile the weakness of the Crown was an encouragement to unabashed solicitation, and the fact that what the King could give was so little worth, served as an excuse for importunity in its pursuit.

A new and a possibly promising turn seemed to be given to affairs in the increasing jealousy between the Commonwealth and the States of Holland. The passing of the Navigation Act, which prohibited the entry into the ports of England of any merchandise on other than English merchant ships, except such as came from the country to which the ships belonged, struck a dire blow at the carrying trade of Holland. That trade consisted of merchandise from all parts of the globe, only a very small portion of which came from Holland itself. A protest from the Dutch was received with haughty disdain; and by the spring of 1652, the two nations had drifted into war, and Van Tromp and Blake were trying conclusions in the Channel, and sinking one another's ships, while envoys vainly attempted to patch up

some arrangement. Merchant convoys were captured, commerce was broken, and Blake pursued the Dutchmen's fishing vessels even to the Orkneys, and convoyed them into English ports.

This quarrel of the Commonwealth with Holland seemed to offer a possible chance for the exiled Royalists. Charles and his advisers still trusted to some friendliness for their cause amongst the fleet, where the crews were a people by themselves, and were by no means enamoured of their new masters. The Dutch ambassador at Paris, Borzel, was on good terms with Hyde, and constantly interchanged views with him. In consultation with Ormonde and Hyde, the King conceived the idea of securing the alliance of the Dutch, by offering to withdraw from the English fleet all whose Royalist sympathies might induce them to desert upon the summons of the King. Charles was ready to sail on the Dutch fleet without command of any ships except those which might repair to him from Blake's contingent. This offer was duly communicated to the States. Some were ready to accept it, and looked upon it with sanguine hopes, as a means of crushing the insolence of the English Commonwealth. But De Witt had no mind to commit his country to such doubtful alliance. He made more cautious counsels prevail, and a civil but non-committal answer was sent to a proposal from which neither Charles nor the Dutch were likely to be gainers. The superior power of the English fleet was too evident to make resistance possible; and after some further disasters, the Dutch were ready to make overtures for peace which Cromwell's own necessities made him not unwilling to receive. He had nothing to fear from foreign foes, who vied with one another in seeking for his friendship. By the easy seizure of Guernsey and Jersey he was complete master of the whole English kingdom. Ireland and Scotland were held firmly in his grasp. The

plantations in the West Indies readily accepted his authority. His bitterest and most irreconcilable foes were those at home, and to them he had now to turn his attention.

They were no longer confined to any one section of the nation. However concealed the aims and workings of the Royalists were, Cromwell knew well enough that under their influence a large proportion of the nation viewed him with bitter and unrelenting hatred, which waited only for a fitting opportunity to show itself. Other enemies were more avowed. The Presbyterian influence in Parliament was outspoken in its opposition, and endeavoured to thwart him at every turn. Worse still, the Independents, including Vane himself, were now jealous of his power, and were willing to join even their old foes the Presbyterians, in denouncing his tyranny, and showing defiance to his authority. In the army alone he could always reckon upon well-organized support, which could quickly silence any overt opposition. A shower of petitions might easily be poured, at any convenient moment, upon Parliament, in which the soldiers could state in language of very thinly-veiled threat, the neglect with which the factions at Westminster had treated their labours and sufferings in the cause. At length his patience was exhausted, or the time for action seemed ripe. On April 2nd, 1653, Cromwell appeared in the House, with some officers who were also members, and announced plainly that he had come to put an end to their authority. They would do well to submit quietly, and, to show how any resistance would be met, a file of musketeers presently entered the House, and waited until the members left. The mace was removed, the doors locked, and by a single bold act the Parliament that had crushed the liberties of England during thirteen years was dispersed. Cromwell determined that if there was to be any semblance of Parliament, it must be of a kind that could possess little authority

or respect. Election would give it too much weight, and accordingly he nominated 140 persons, few of whom had any position of authority or any weight of character. This strange gathering, which for a brief moment masqueraded as the Parliament of England, was known, from the name of Praise-God Barebone (a Fleet Street leather-dealer, who was a notable member of the little group of fanatic preachers), as the "Barebone's Parliament," met on July 4th, 1653. They were to deliberate on the affairs of the nation—always subject to the control of Cromwell—until November 3rd, 1654; but three months before that date, they were to nominate an equal number of men who were to take their places, and were to wield the same powers for another year. Cromwell had purposely made them weak and helpless in his hands. But tyranny like his often overshoots the mark, and it did so notably here. His Barebone's Parliament was intended to be weak, but he can hardly have meant it to be imbecile. For five months they were allowed to vapour over a wide range of subjects with about as much intelligence as a crowd of Covent Garden porters. Then the signal was given. On December 12th, 1653, one of the motley company rose to propose that as they were clearly unequal to the task laid upon them, they ought to surrender their authority into the hands from which they had received it. Had they lasted longer, they might have transmitted some of the ridicule into which they had fallen to him who had created them. As it was, they served him only as a new stepping-stone to power. Their surrender of an authority which was never meant to be real, left Cromwell and his Council the only alternative to anarchy. The Instrument of Government was now issued by the sole authority of the Council, and by it Cromwell was constituted as Lord Protector. He was to have a Council of twenty-one persons, and once every three years he was to summon a Parliament, the date

of its first assembling being fixed for September, 1654. In the intervals of Parliament, the Lord Protector and his Council were to have legislative as well as executive power. A more than royal prerogative was thus conferred upon him; and with something of royal state the ceremony of installation was carried out. The sword of state was borne before him, heralds proclaimed his titles and authority. In the city he was received with all the solemn formality of a sovereign, and as the fountain of honour, he conferred a knighthood upon the Lord Mayor. As if to signalize his triumphant accession, the struggle with the naval power of the Dutch came to a conclusion, after more than one desperate engagement, with the death of Van Tromp, the greatest naval commander of the day. The death of their commander as well as their heavy losses compelled the Dutch to accept any terms of peace. In April, 1654, Cromwell was able to dictate conditions at his will. Besides important surrenders of territory in the East Indies, the Dutch were compelled to bind themselves to give refuge on their soil to no Royalist adherent. Triumphant abroad as well as at home, he could now turn to the task of taking vengeance upon those who were detected in any scheme for giving effect to the concealed but sleepless hatred of the Royalists who still remained on English soil. New and summary tribunals were erected, and new victims were speedily claimed by the scaffold. Cromwell could dictate terms to Holland as well as to Portugal. He could spread terror amongst the Royalists, and could silence Independent as well as Presbyterian. He could not check the slow but certain growth of the ingrained hatred of his rule which was spreading amongst every class in the nation. Even the Levellers in the army, who had helped him to reduce the Parliament, were now grumbling in no uncertain tones against his overweening tyranny.

The autumn of 1654 had been fixed by the Instrument

of Government as the date for the first Parliament. It was not to be nominated like the Barebone's Parliament, but a semblance of free election was to be given; and by a bold step towards Parliamentary reform—to which even Hyde finds himself obliged to give a tribute of praise—there was to be a redistribution of seats which equalized representation, by increasing the number of knights elected for each shire, and reducing the number of burgesses for many of the more obscure and petty boroughs. They met on September 3rd, and had the usual type of address from the Lord Protector, "full of texts," but indicating clearly enough the line of action which he intended that they should pursue. Their choice of Speaker—Lenthall, who had occupied the chair in the Long Parliament—had something ominous about it.

The turn of debate soon showed the underlying discontent. They began to discuss the authority which had convened them, and the whole basis of the Government was assailed. It was in vain that Cromwell summoned them to the Painted Chamber, where he told them, in express terms, what were the fundamental principles about which he would suffer no dispute. There must be a single ruler; that single ruler would give a certain partnership of power to a Parliament; between these two the military power should be shared. In religion there must be liberty of conscience. These were fundamentals, and the Protector lectured his indocile Commons, as if they were a crowd of unruly children, on the error of their ways. To mend matters, a guard was set upon the doors, and no one was suffered to enter who did not swear to support the frame of the Government as now arranged. Cromwell's methods of dealing with the recalcitrant assembly were drastic to the point of comedy. But it was of no avail. Like a set of raw recruits, they were too stubborn to obey, but too stupid to mutiny. Their ineffectual discussions dragged on. Five months was the

period for which, according to the Instrument of Government, a Parliament was to last. As soon as the bare five lunar months had passed, on January 22nd, 165⅘, Cromwell "let them know he could do the business without them." He dismissed them back to their constituencies—to be new seed-plots of discontent throughout the land.

There were two former adherents who had lately become pronounced opponents, of whom Cromwell was now obliged to take notice. These were Major John Wildman and John Lilburne. Both were men who perhaps represented influences more potent amongst the masses of their countrymen, than other men whose names are written more largely on the page of history. Wildman had found a congenial sphere for his restless and turbulent ability in the outbreak of civil hostilities. He was a graduate of Cambridge, and already recognized for "his pregnant wit." Others were inspired by the religious or political fanaticism of the day, and acquired their strength from acting as soldiers in the ranks of a great party. Wildman was one of those whom revolution is apt to bring to the surface—a soldier of adventure whose cue it was to make his own fortune in the fray. With shrewd discernment, he had seen in Cromwell, still but a captain in the army of the Parliament, one whom it would be profitable to serve, and he had attached himself closely to him. By his ready wit, his quick and facile pen, his marvellous power of discerning motives, and of learning the methods of directing the currents of popular enthusiasm, Wildman made himself an invaluable servant to Cromwell. He knew, as few others did, how to exasperate Parliament and balance one faction against another, and how to turn their disputes to the purposes of his leader. He quitted the army, without loss of his influence there, and became a well-recognized intermediary in all Parliamentary affairs. One of the secrets of his influence was that he never

sought to proclaim it to the public. It was felt rather than seen.

As Cromwell's designs became more plain, and as the smouldering discontent showed itself in ominous signs, Wildman's attitude changed. His power of intrigue was exercised in a new direction, and Cromwell learned through his spies the dangerous operation of Wildman's infectious discontent, and the ramifications of his plots. But he recognized how hazardous it was to strike a blow at random against one who knew so many of his own secrets, and had helped in so many of his earlier designs. Even when Wildman was actually arrested, with ample evidence of his intrigues around him, and in possession of incriminatory papers containing bitter denunciations of the Protector—even then, Cromwell did not venture to come to conclusions with a foe of so much resource. Wildman was imprisoned, and the preparations for a prosecution were instituted. But either prosecution would have revealed too much, or it was hoped that Wildman's powers would once more be enlisted in Cromwell's service. He was set at liberty, and again resorted, with marked success, to his old life of intrigue. To know more of his mysterious operations would teach us much of the actual state of opinion at the time. We can recognize in him only a stormy petrel of politics, whose ambition was not place or outward power, but to hang upon the skirts of the tempest, and to breathe its bracing atmosphere.

The other, of a different character, and less nimble intellect, who also caused the Protector trouble at this time, was John Lilburne. He had been one of the wildest enthusiasts amongst the agitators of the army, and was idolized by the keener fanatics in its ranks. In 1643 he had been made prisoner at Brentford, and was saved from summary execution only by the threat, on the part of the Parliament,

of stern reprisals on their Royalist prisoners. While his fate was undecided, he managed to escape, and again became one of the most notable of the fiery spirits in the army. Cromwell used his influence in all his contests with the Parliament, and found in him one of those who could secure the firm allegiance of the army. He defended his henchman against the Parliament, who were incensed at his outspoken attacks, and he checked severely any censures with which they endeavoured to assail Lilburne. But the power that he had thus cherished soon became uncomfortably intractable. Lilburne's enthusiasm would not bend to the necessities of political intrigue; and when Cromwell's tyrannical designs became more clear, they found no bolder denouncer than the former tool of Cromwell in his attacks upon the Parliament. His taunts against the Protector's falsehood and hypocrisy became too outspoken to be passed over with the contemptuous negligence that Cromwell would willingly have shown. His Council pronounced Lilburne guilty of high treason, and even against his will, Cromwell was forced to bring the charges to the issue of a trial. Had the matter been less notorious, means could easily have been found to crush in secret so troublesome a foe; but secret methods were impossible in such a case. The army would not suffer their champion to suffer in silence, or by the quiet action of arbitrary power. The arm of the law must be invoked, and it must be allowed to operate on stricter rules than were required in the case of any Royalist plot. In the proceedings, Lilburne showed that boldness which the consciousness of the support of the army gave him. He browbeat judge and counsel, and stubbornly refused to palliate his attacks upon the Protector. Against a usurper, he alleged, no act of high treason could be committed. He had declared only what all men knew to be true; he was the assertor of their

liberties, and could easily have served his own interests by preserving his old friendship for the tyrant. It was because he refused to do so that he was now arraigned. It was to no purpose that the judge urged that the charge of high treason was fully proved. Lilburne was triumphantly absolved by the jury, and Cromwell's critical position disabled him from showing resentment at their action. By one whom he had regarded as a useful tool he had suffered a repulse that was worse than a defeat in the field. He had learned the temper of the nation in a way about which mistake was impossible. He could only keep Lilburne in prison in defiance of the law; no sterner action was possible without evoking a storm which even Cromwell would have been powerless to resist. It was an incident like this which gave to a distant observer like Hyde that trust in the slow ripening of the nation's indignation which supplied his only hope. In all other aspects the power of the usurper seemed to gain in security both at home and abroad.

The time arrived in June, 1654, when the King's continued residence in France, long irksome, finally became impossible. A treaty between Cromwell and the French Crown was all but arranged. Spain and Flanders, as well as Holland, were already closed against the King. Ready as he was to seek some other abode, it was difficult to say where it was to be found. It would have been madness now to attempt a landing on any part of British territory. Middleton and some other Scottish adherents were true to their loyalty; but they recognized that quiescence was their wisest policy for the present. Enthusiastic attempts, like that of young Wogan, who marched safely with a small band through England to join Middleton in Scotland, and found his grave there, proved, indeed, that Charles had passionate supporters, who would brave any danger

in his cause, and that they had secret sympathizers at home; but such attempts led only to a waste of noble lives, and were not to be encouraged. Yet something must be found as an alternative to the wretched life at St. Germains. No one amongst the small band of the King's counsellors found the life in France more irksome than did Hyde. Ormonde shared all his views and counsels; but Ormonde's position was too secure to make him the avowed object of the petty cabals of the Court. It was upon Hyde that all their venom was directed. He was blamed when this or that scheme for a Catholic alliance, or some hare-brained plan of matrimonial connection for the King, was discouraged and laid aside. So thoroughly had the Queen become imbued with suspicions against him, that she openly avoided any intercourse, and compelled Hyde, in self-respect, to refrain from ever showing himself in her presence. To her intimates, she made no secret of her wish to separate him from the King; and Hyde would readily have fulfilled her wish, had not his sense of duty forced him to remain amid the sordid cabals and vexatious jealousies which encompassed him.

A community of hatred makes strange bed-fellows; and even in his annoyance Hyde found his sense of humour stirred by an odd combination amongst his foes. The remnants of the Presbyterian party at the Court resolved to petition the King against the wicked opposition of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who frowned upon their hopes of still stirring up a party for the King in Scotland. At the same time the Roman Catholic party, headed by the Queen, conceived that the only chance for Charles was reliance on their aid, which would serve to restore him were it not for the machinations of Hyde. Both parties combined their forces and resolved together to send memorials to the King, which they busied themselves in concocting. A faithless

ally betrayed their purpose to Charles, who dealt with it in that happy spirit of banter which never forsook him, and perhaps helped to ease an intolerable situation. At the Queen's dinner-table, he asked "When the petitions against the Chancellor were to be presented?" and the jest happily frustrated the ridiculous scheme. But it left the Queen none the less exasperated, and she had the sympathy of the Queen-Mother of France, who naturally detested any influence that interposed itself between a mother and a royal son. Again Charles managed to turn the quarrel to ridicule. He took Ormonde and Hyde to a masque at Court, and seated them next to the royal party. The Queen-Mother, who did not know Hyde by sight, asked, "Who was the fat man sitting next Lord Ormonde?" "That is the naughty man," said Charles, "who causes all the mischief, and sets me against my mother." Hyde was reduced to blushes; but the embarrassment of the Queen was not less than his own. Explanations followed, and the jest once more eased the situation for the time. But the intrigues soon broke out again.

This time the source of trouble was that Mr. Robert Long, who turns up occasionally during these years, as one of those who by assiduous self-seeking obtained a transient influence of the intriguing kind. He had before been a creature of the Queen and Jermyn, and as their tool and emissary was in bad odour with the more serious adherents of the King. But he had for some reason fallen into the ill-graces of the Queen, and in a sort of petty revenge, had allowed his tongue to run too freely on the disputes between the King and his mother. At her instigation he had been removed from the Council and from the office of secretary, which he had somehow managed to secure—the duties of the office being imposed on Hyde, as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Peace was now patched up between Long and

the faction of the Queen, and at their instigation he petitioned to be restored to his office. The King was in no mood to yield to such caprices, and rejected the petition. Another ground of accusation was next laid at the Chancellor's door. A plot was arranged, to suborn some worthless evidence for a ridiculous story of Hyde's having visited England after his return from Spain, and having been in personal communication with Cromwell. Herbert, now Keeper of the Seal, showed his usual malignity in giving some credence to this absurd concoction. It was finally crushed only when it was denounced in no measured terms by the King as a false and wicked charge, which discredited all concerned in it. Herbert's spleen was only the more excited by the exposure of such petty gossip, and he attempted to renew the attack upon Hyde, by repeating stories which had reached him of aspersions cast upon the King by the Chancellor. Hyde asked only to be brought face to face with his slanderer; and on inquiry it turned out that Lord Gerard had been the authority for the childish story. With all gravity Gerard told the Council how upon one occasion when he and Hyde were driving in company, Hyde had—apparently after Gerard had led the way—spoken in no guarded terms of the King's inattention to business. Hyde confessed that—although he had no recollection of the incident—it may very well have been true, and certainly expressed his feelings. Lord Gerard and he, however, were in no such friendly terms that he was likely to have made him his confidant. With singular tactlessness Herbert still urged the seriousness of the charge, until the King himself silenced him, and said "that he did really believe the Chancellor had used these very words, because he had often said that and much more to himself, which he had never taken ill." He declared that "he was very well satisfied in the Chancellor's affection, and took nothing ill

that he had said." That declaration closed the silly incident; but it serves as a mirror of the petty malignity that prevailed in that sordid circle.

It was little wonder that the King and all those of his adherents who did not enjoy the atmosphere of intrigue were eager to get away from these degrading bickerings. The only question was how the necessary means of discharging debts and meeting the expenses of a journey were to be obtained. As soon as that could be managed, Charles resolved to join his sister, the Princess of Orange, at Spa. Fortunately the Cardinal was as anxious to speed his unwilling guests as they were to go. He drove a hard bargain for the purchase of some cannon and equipment which was all that remained from Prince Rupert's fleet, now back in port after a privateering voyage. To that he added some grudging gifts from the Court of France, and with this supply, and £3000 sent him by loyal adherents in England, who were anxious to see their King free from the humiliating abode in France, Charles was enabled to shake off an irksome hospitality. Jermyn, of course, stayed with the Queen, and the Lord Keeper Herbert was told that his personal attendance was not required by the King. Charles, for some years, found a refuge, pleasant at least in contrast, in the independent German States.

Before he left Paris with his master, Hyde had a last interview with the Queen. Charles desired that the long estrangement should be ended, and hoped some good effect from the interview. Henrietta upbraided Hyde with his neglect of her interest and authority, with his avoidance of her presence, and with such lack of respect as only her regard for the King prevailed with her to endure. Hyde easily explained his not resorting to her presence, as caused by her own studied neglect. The last thing he could ever feel was disrespect for the wife of his dead master; but he desired only to learn how he had given offence. The pride

of the Queen was too sorely touched to suffer her to make amends. "She would be glad to see reason to change her opinion," she said; and a curt dismissal forced Hyde to leave her with the breach unhealed. In June, 1654, the King, with Hyde and Ormonde, quitted Paris. When he reached Spa, Wilmot (now Earl of Rochester) joined him from his mission to the German Diet, where he had gone to raise some money for the King. He had met with some success, and a sum of £10,000—impaired by the costs of the mission, and the vain projects into which the Earl's ambition pushed him—came to the coffers of the King from this source. The sum was small, but Charles was persuaded to curtail his own expenditure to narrow limits, and the cost of his household, Hyde tells us, did not now exceed six hundred pistoles a month. An outbreak of smallpox at Spa compelled him to move to Aix, where he was received with all civility; and there he was joined by Hyde's faithful friend "the good old secretary Nicholas." Charles had abler counsellors, but no more sterling friend, than this veteran, who had served his father long and well.

The years that follow present a strange picture of mingled hope and despair; of unremitting watchfulness on the part of Hyde, who, by correspondence and conference, did his best to estimate the changing phases of public opinion in England, and alternately kept alive the loyalty and checked the rashness of the Royalist party there. Discontent was rife enough in England, and it was only natural that it, and the hopes derived from it, should be exaggerated in the telling. Charles had a happy humour that beguiled the dreariness of exile. His reception at different places of abode was cordial enough. Hyde gives us no lurid picture of the adventures of these years, and if his sterner sense of rectitude was shocked by some scandalous episodes in the King's life, he had enough knowledge of the world

not to dwell upon such incidents. In practice, as well as in the pages of his history, he did his best to draw a veil over all that detracted from that dignity to which his master gave but little heed. In after days he was forced to be more outspoken.

From Aix the Court moved to Cologne, where a reception no less cordial was given them by the citizens of the town. Even the zeal of the Roman Catholic clergy, which banished all Protestants from the city, did not prevent them from receiving the King with ready hospitality, and tolerating the exercise of Anglican worship in their midst. Nowhere did he find kinder treatment, or surroundings better suited to his taste; and Hyde, while concealing the less edifying particulars of the royal conduct, is glad to record that Charles gave some hours each day to retirement and the study of Italian and French. The King's life at this time was simple enough, and the scanty resources which he was able to beg from the German princes did not permit him even to indulge in the luxury of a coach. At no period does Charles seem to have been more amenable to wise guidance, and to have shown more judgment in his political action. He managed to maintain the loyalty of his English friends, while deprecating any rash or ill-timed attempts, and he checked, with much firmness, the efforts of the Queen to convert his youngest brother, the Duke of Gloucester, to Roman Catholicism. Under the influence of Montague, who managed to ingratiate himself with her by his new zeal as a convert to her faith, the young Duke had been sent to the Abbey of Pontoise,[1] where his religious principles were to be perverted. The attempt was happily foiled, and Charles exerted his authority by sending Ormonde to France, with peremptory orders to bring his brother to Cologne. In spite of all the irritation shown by the Queen, who swore that

[1] Of which Montague was Abbot.

she would not concern herself with the Duke further, nor see him any more, the mission was successfully accomplished.

About the same time there was a change in the circumstances of Hyde's family which was destined to have eventful consequences. The Princess of Orange had been attracted by Anne Hyde, his daughter, and proposed to make her one of her maids of honour. Hyde at first strongly opposed the proposal. He did not wish to separate his daughter from her mother, and was averse to the new surroundings amidst which she would be placed. Such a destiny had no charm in his eyes, and he foresaw only too clearly that her selection would give new grounds for the jealousy of the Queen. But the Princess was firm in her purpose, and had no mind to be governed by the Queen in the ordering of her household. Charles also strongly supported the design, and Hyde's only hope of averting it lay in what he thought would be the certain objection of his wife. But the Princess thought she could manage that part of the business, and it was found that Lady Hyde entertained none of the objections, as she was doubtless unable to estimate the dangers, foreseen by her husband. Anne Hyde became attached to the Princess's household, and was now one of the Court circle. With whatever misgivings, Hyde was obliged to submit to an arrangement which was pressed so strongly by those whose wishes he could not oppose.[1]

But the quiet of Cologne was soon disturbed by rumours of new attempts in England. The evidence of widespread discontent in England stimulated the hopes of the Royalists, and made them fancy that the Government was less securely settled than it was. Secret murmurings, spreading from mouth to mouth, gave a semblance of unanimity amongst the opponents of Cromwell which did not really exist. To

[1] For Anne Hyde's letter to her father at this time (October 19, 1654), see *Cal. of Clarendon Papers* at Bodleian, ii. 401.

have united together all the scattered elements of resistance, and to have brought them to act in combination, would have required resources in men and money far beyond the power of the Royalist party. Emissaries came and went between England and the King with apparent ease. Their movements seemed to baffle the Government, and the discontented found themselves emboldened by the apathy of those in authority, and were persuaded to exaggerate their own power by the ineffective measures which seemed to be taken to expose or thwart their designs. But Cromwell's spies were in reality far more active than they knew. Nothing could be better calculated to justify stern measures than to allow plots to grow until they ran into the hazard of some rash attempt. Rochester's ill-governed ambition, and his hopes of making himself the potent instrument in an overthrow of the Government, led him to make a dangerous expedition, in disguise, to England. He mingled freely with the malcontents; came to be unduly sanguine as to their numbers and strength, and fancied that the deep-rooted hatred of Cromwell's rule of which he heard on all sides, would supply the deficiency of organization and concerted plans. Reckless attempts were made in various places—not perhaps without the knowledge and the secret connivance of the Government. Many of those who shared the plots were themselves in communication with the Government, and acted as provocative agents in mad schemes which would only expose those involved in them, and subject them to the vengeance of the law.[1]

[1] On October 31st, 1655, Cromwell issued a Declaration threatening severe retaliatory measures against Royalists, including a proposal to "decimate" them, or, in other words, fine them in one-tenth part of their remaining property. To counteract this, Hyde composed and caused to be published in England what purported to be "A Letter from a true and faithful member of Parliament, and one faithfully engaged with it from the beginning of the war to the end, to one of the Lords of His Highness's Council," in which, in that assumed character, he deprecated such measures. He refers to this in his *Life*, i. 308, and states that the work was done by

For the moment Royalist hopes ran high. Charles was persuaded to move secretly to Flushing, and there to expect the summons to land in England, where a series of successful risings were to pave the way for his reception. Hyde passed to Breda, where his family were staying in a house provided by the Princess of Orange, and where he would be able speedily to obey the orders of the King. But the wild schemes came to nothing. Momentary successes were quickly extinguished. The King's devoted adherents, who had risked all for his cause, became the victims of justifiable vengeance. Rochester's usual luck enabled him, after many hazards, to return in safety to the King. Once more the Court repaired, under the burden of added disaster, to the safe retreat of Cologne. Cromwell had ample justification for new ruthlessness of severity in the maintenance of his rule. England was parcelled out under the severe arm of military authority, and twelve major-generals, responsible to the Protector alone, were entrusted with the administration of the various provinces. The Royalists were still further mulcted by a levy of one-tenth upon the whole of such property as was still left them. Commissioners were appointed to administer this ordinance with unsparing severity, and the same action which still further crushed the Protector's opponents, enabled him to fill the coffers of the State without resort to heavy general taxation.

After the King's return to Cologne a discovery was made which proved how much the poison of treachery had penetrated into the Royalist schemes. Amidst the Court circle there had been one young gentleman, named Manning,

command of the King; and that "it was made great use of to inflame the people, and make them sensible of the destruction that attended them, and was thought then to produce many good effects." The ruse was successful, and the pamphlet was ascribed to Sir Henry Vane. The manuscript has now been identified in the Bodleian papers (see *Calendar of Clarendon Papers*, iii. No. 216).

who had hereditary and personal claims to some regard. His father, Colonel Manning, a Roman Catholic, had been killed, and he himself severely wounded, fighting for the King. He professed abundant enthusiasm for the Royalist cause, and a burning desire to avenge his father's death. He accounted for the supply of money, which enabled him to live in good style, by saying that he had sold the remnant of his father's estate, and was now intent upon risking his fortunes with the Royalist cause. To disarm suspicion still more he now professed the Protestant religion, and attended at worship with the King. An agreeable personality, and quick abilities, ingratiated him with all, and he managed to stimulate the ambition of Rochester by promising to place at his disposal a small but serviceable band, whom he had already enlisted in England, and who would attend his lordship on his landing. By Rochester he was introduced to the King, who looked with favour on his projects and commended him to Hyde. But Hyde had already seen him, and was not satisfied as to the wisdom or even as to the honesty of his plans. Manning professed to be in the confidence of the Earl of Pembroke, who, he said, was eager to help the King, and had £3000 in readiness at Wilton to be delivered upon the mandate of the King. With some success he managed to learn dangerous secrets; but Hyde's suspicions still made him cautious, and he had good reason to believe that Pembroke had none of the designs attributed to him, and was in no position to command £3000 of ready money. Such suspicions were deemed by the others to be overstrained, and to be merely part and parcel of Hyde's usual ill-timed caution. It was only after the return to Cologne, where Manning presented himself after having spied on the King's motions at Flushing, that the suspicions received confirmation. Manning's correspondence was seized, and showed that he was in constant and regular

communication with Thurloe, Cromwell's secretary. He was arrested at his lodgings, and was found to have concocted elaborate stories of plots that had no existence, as well as to have betrayed all the secrets that he had learned. He made a full and free confession, admitted that he despised the work which he was paid for doing, and pleaded only that by falsifying his narrative to his paymasters he had misled them, and done no harm to the Royalist cause. He is one of those waifs and strays of civil discord for whom it is impossible not to have a certain pity. Honest at the outset, well-gifted by nature, touched by the love of adventure, and banished by fortune from any fair way of life; with the sense of honour blunted by harsh experience, and learning by degrees to cloak his misdoings by a specious excuse, ready to accept the pay of the usurper, but perhaps inclined at any moment to turn his energies to the cause which was his own both by inheritance and by choice—his was a character only too likely to be developed in the atmosphere of an exiled Court, filled by needy and hungry adventurers. It is not likely that in Charles's Court he found any striking unselfishness of loyalty, which might have recalled him to a nicer sense of honour. But the evil he had wrought could not be condoned; and in the exercise of a jurisdiction, which was strangely enough accorded by their hosts, the Council ordered Manning to be shot. No effort was made by Cromwell to intervene for his release. To have made such an effort might have betrayed a complicity with his plots which it was, perhaps, deemed prudent not to publish.

A change in Cromwell's attitude towards France and Spain now made a notable alteration in the position of the King. The alliance between England and France became more close, and signs were not wanting of an impending breach with Spain. Two great fleets were equipped; the one, under the command of Blake, was to take vengeance,

in the first place, on the pirates of Algiers and Tunis for their attacks on English trade, and thereafter to capture the fleet of Spanish galleons on their return from the Spanish colonies. The other, under Penn and Venables, was dispatched to the West Indies, to inflict a deadly blow upon Spain in that region. Cromwell put full trust in the fidelity of Blake. He guarded himself against the possible defection of Penn and Venables by sending them to sea with sealed orders, and in complete ignorance of the purpose for which they were sent. Blake spread the terror of the English name to the walls of Algiers and Tunis, and if he only partially succeeded in the attack upon the Spanish merchant fleet, he did enough to rouse the alarm of an enemy so feeble. Penn and Venables failed completely in their attack upon Hispaniola, and their capture of Jamaica—then esteemed of little importance—did not avail to save them from the wrath of Cromwell. On their return they were both committed to the Tower. A half-hearted execution of orders was equivalent to treachery in Cromwell's eyes.

The breach with Spain was now complete, and Cromwell cemented his alliance with France by dispatching 6000 men to aid in the attack on Flanders. As a return, Dunkirk, when captured, was to be placed in his hands.

In September, 1656, he deemed it necessary again to summon a Parliament. Perhaps he thought that his power was sufficient to warrant him in allowing a free election. This proved an error. When Parliament met, he found himself faced by opposition far stronger than before. He could only resort to his old plan of requiring a subscription, from all permitted to sit, to an undertaking, that they would do nothing prejudicial to the Government as established. Those who refused to take it had to return to their homes. For a time all went well. Any attempt on the life of the Protector was declared to be treason. New taxes were imposed,

and tonnage and poundage was granted him for life. But the submission was only on the surface. There was a strong under-current of opposition, and he found that in the army there was a considerable faction determined to curb his power. At its head was Lambert, formerly his closest ally, now his implacable foe. The murmurs against the major-generals waxed louder, and Cromwell found it needful to devise new methods for strengthening his authority. Was it possible to enlist the aid of the nobility, and to capture acquiescence by restoring the name and symbols of the older monarchy?

This design found many supporters. It was pressed upon Cromwell—outwardly to his surprise and discomfiture—by a powerful section amongst his party; and even amongst the Royalists there were found some who thought the design might help their own aims. On the other hand, Lambert and a dominant element in the army did not hesitate to avow their invincible opposition, and their determination to carry that opposition to the death. They had the assent of many of those who stood closest to Cromwell, and who were allied to him by marriage. A strong party in the Council, and the majority in Parliament, favoured the design, which was ultimately proposed to him in set terms. For a day or two he wavered, and parried the proposal; at length he was convinced that the objections were insuperable. One of his closest and most intimate adherents declared to him that "if ever he took the title of King upon him, he would kill him." It was confidently reported that a confederacy existed, pledged to his assassination within a few hours after his assumption of the title. After a long struggle with himself, he finally declined the project. To the mind of Hyde, the decision sealed the fate of his power. Had he assumed the name of King, he might, Hyde thinks, have captured some of the old loyalty for the Crown.

But the refusal did not lessen his power at the time, nor his boldness in its exercise. Even those who resisted the design could not withstand new projects for confirming his authority. In May, 1657, there was presented the "Humble Petition and Advice" of Parliament, which invested him with more than royal authority, in all but name. He was to be Chief Magistrate, though under the title of Protector, instead of that of King; he was to name his successor, and was to summon a Parliament of two Houses once a year; a Council of twenty-one was to assist him; and an ample revenue was placed at his disposal for the maintenance of the navy and army and of the civil administration. Save for legislation, the Protector would find in Parliament no effective curb on his supremacy. In June he was installed in Westminster Hall with all the splendour of a royal function. To enable him to confirm his new power and arrange his new model of Parliament, the House was adjourned till January, $165\frac{8}{7}$; and meanwhile all military officers were compelled to swear adherence to the Humble Petition and Advice. His eldest son, Richard, was sworn of the Privy Council, and appointed Chancellor of Oxford. The younger, Henry, was named Lieutenant of Ireland. To draw closer his bond with the nobility, he gave his two daughters in marriage, one to the heir of the Earl of Warwick and the other to Lord Falconbridge. By a strange fancy, the public ceremonies of marriage according to the prevailing tenets, were confirmed privately by ordained clergy according to the form of the Book of Common Prayer.

The added dignity of his power at home was enhanced by further triumphs abroad. Blake, in April of this year, achieved complete success in the capture of the Spanish galleons from Peru and Mexico, and inflicted upon the Spanish maritime power a blow so crushing that, in the

eyes of the Spaniards, the sailors who won "this unparalleled action" were "rather devils than men." It was the greatest, but it was the last, fight of that incomparable commander. When he sailed upon his last expedition he felt that the hand of death was upon him. His illness increased as he sailed for home, and, just as he entered the Sound of Plymouth, the man who had done more than any other to make the fleet of England supreme breathed his last. Hyde was not blind to the merit even of an enemy.

"He was the first," he says, "that infused that proportion of courage into the seamen by making them see by experience what mighty things they could do if they were resolved; and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water; and though he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that drew the copy of naval courage and bold and resolute achievements."

In January, 165$\frac{8}{7}$, the two Houses met; and after the old fashion Cromwell sent Black Rod to summon the Commons to attend him in the House of Lords, and addressed them in the style of a king. But when the Commons met, it was soon apparent that opposition was not at an end. The members excluded for failure to subscribe the test of submission to the Protector were restored. Vane and Hazelrigg, with others, at once questioned the methods of Government. By what authority, it was asked, did the Protector issue writs of attendance to the peers? Who gave to those of the other House the title of Lords? That was a power that must rest with the legally constituted House of Commons, and with that alone.

It is clear that their contention had at least as little basis in any legal right as that of Cromwell himself. Had he assumed the title of King, that single act of usurpation would have warranted his action in summoning the peers, and would have been a sound plea in law, under the statute

of Henry VII., to justify all who accepted him as King *de facto*. Under no possible construction could the House of Commons claim any right of interference with the other House. Cromwell had small difficulty in crushing an opposition so poorly founded and with exponents of so little weight. "The other House," he said, "were lords, and should be lords." Let them set to work upon their business and waste no time on fruitless discussions. The warning was plain enough; but it was neglected, and Cromwell had no mind to prolong a futile wrangle. On February 4th they were again summoned to the House of Lords; and, after being rated like schoolboys, were sent about their business.

Meanwhile the breach between Cromwell and Spain had given the King a new opportunity by which his advisers were eager to profit. Little effective aid as Spain could give him, yet even a nominal recognition by that power would greatly enhance his position. The overtures of the exiled Court might perhaps have been more cordially received by Spain, as a means of weakening the position of their formidable foe, had it not been for Cardenas, the former ambassador in England. He knew every turn of English politics, and knew also how little a Royalist alliance could benefit one who, like himself, had been a keen ally of those who had destroyed the power of the Crown. His whole influence was thrown into the other scale, and it was only with a niggardly hand that Spain dealt out any assistance to the exiled King. The King's project of coming to Brussels was strongly opposed. If he came there, it was alleged, without proper state, it would be a blemish on the honour of Spain, and yet the resources of that Crown would not permit its ministers to defray the cost of furnishing the means of such state. They were unwilling altogether to reject the proffered alliance because the influence of

Charles might well withdraw the Irish from the army of France which now threatened Flanders.[1] Yet they grudged the price of that alliance, and the utmost concession that could be got was permission to Charles to reside *incognito* at Bruges; and a promise that when a good port town in England should declare for the King, Spain would assist with 6000 foot and corresponding transport and ammunition. With these terms Charles and his advisers were fain to be content; and on that footing the exiled Court had taken up residence at Bruges in June, 1657.

Spain was half-hearted in her recognition of Charles, because she had other designs and other allies, which it was hoped might bring her more effective aid in England. Cardenas had established relations with the disaffected Levellers in the English army. Sexby,[2] who had been an enthusiastic supporter of the popular party, had been one of those most bitterly disappointed when he found that their labours had been spent in vain, and that instead of earning freedom they had only placed on themselves a yoke of tyranny greater than had ever before been felt in England. He had joined the ranks of the Levellers; but for some years he had been obliged to wander about the country in disguise, and do his best to propagate his views by obscure pamphlets. He had visited Brussels and Madrid, and had given early intelligence to Spain of the destination of the fleet under Penn and Venables. Of his zeal and sincerity in the Royalist cause there could be no doubt, and he seems to have impressed those who dealt with him as entirely honest. The only uncertainty was as

[1] There was undoubtedly at this time an attempt to induce the King to declare himself a Roman Catholic, or at least to pledge himself to grant indulgence to those of that faith, if restored. To the first Hyde was invincibly opposed. The second, he had to point out, could only be granted with the consent of Parliament. See *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 291.

[2] Edward Sexby was a cavalry officer and a close follower of Cromwell. He had been engaged in negotiations for arranging an alliance between the Parliament and Spain against France; and when this was abandoned, his influence was gone, and he began to plot against his former leader.

to his power of organizing any effective check to Cromwell's tyranny. If that were possible, his might be a more useful alliance for Spain than that offered by the exiled Court. The further question remained, could the two influences be brought to converge on the same end?

In the autumn of 1656 Sexby had been actively engaged in negotiations with Spain, and was able to send supplies to his sympathizers in England. Although he abhorred the lax morality and scandalous lives of the Cavaliers, he was not unwilling to join in a Royalist attempt, provided that he were assured that Charles, if restored, would respect the liberties which Parliament had extorted, and would make no attempt to override the laws. In order to try whether any further co-operation were possible, Sexby had sought and obtained, towards the end of 1656, an interview with Charles. It is characteristic of the nature of the man that he expressly required that the ceremony of genuflexion, which his conscience could not accept, should not be demanded,[1] as it had not been demanded of him by Charles I. He had all the obstinacy and determination of the enthusiast; and strange as his procedure often was, he was apparently true to his convictions, and moved by no selfish aims.

It is hard to follow the thread of all the mysterious and complicated transactions now in progress. Spain was anxious to secure any advantages against Cromwell and France. The Spanish ministers recognized that there was little hope of any effective attempt upon England by the Royalists; but Charles might render them useful aid by withdrawing the Irish contingent from the French army, now operating against Flanders. Sexby and the Levellers might, on the other hand, cause serious trouble in England, and might sow the seeds of disaffection in the army. Above all, in

[1] See *Calendar of Clarendon Papers*, iii. 203. Letter from Talbot to the King, No. 616.

their fanatical zeal, they had no scruple in carrying on plots for Cromwell's assassination; and that event, if it occurred, must undoubtedly paralyze the English power. Various attempts were actually made without success; and at last, in January, 1657, a plot to fire Whitehall, and murder Cromwell in the confusion, was betrayed, and its chief agent, Miles Syndercombe, a close ally of Sexby, who had himself been concerned in the plot, was caught and condemned to death. On the morning fixed for his execution he was found dead in his bed from the effects of poison. The discovery in no wise checked the efforts of Sexby and others, who deemed that the murder of Cromwell would be a pious deed. We could scarcely expect that the Spanish Government would have any scruple about the methods pursued by their allies in England, and by them Sexby was encouraged in the course he had chosen. In the autumn of 1657 he himself went to England for the purpose. But he was discovered and betrayed; and rumours that, in the madness that seized on him in prison, he was likely to make inconvenient revelations, caused much perturbation at Charles's Court. His stormy career ended shortly after, as he died in prison

How far Hyde and his fellow councillors had definite knowledge of the assassination plots is a question which admits of no very definite answer. That such designs were widely talked about, and were approved by the general verdict of the party, is beyond a doubt. But between such general acceptance of a vague proposition and participation in a definite plot there is a wide gulf. No member of the Cavalier party would have hesitated for a moment, if Cromwell had been taken prisoner after an engagement, in executing him summarily by martial law; nor could they fairly be condemned for such a purpose. Many would probably have had just as little scruple about acting towards him, if occasion offered, as their comrades had acted towards

Dorislaus at the Hague and Ascham in Madrid. But between either course and the secret bullet or the dagger of the disguised assassin there is a wide difference. It is evident enough that, although not participating in any of the designs, nor indicating any approval of them, Hyde had clear intimation from his correspondents that such schemes were on foot. It was hopeless for the Royalists to secure the Spanish alliance without admitting the possibility of joining the Levellers in any armed insurrection. Neither party to the transaction shared their full plans with the other. Sexby and Wildman—for the latter was closely associated with Sexby—were content with pledges from Charles that there should be no overriding of liberty and no vindictive reprisals. The Royalist advisers were content that the Levellers yielded so much of their old prejudices as to acquiesce in the restoration of the King. In the methods privately pursued by either partner the other shared no responsibility. Both Wildman and Sexby made a good impression on their temporary allies. Reckless conspirator as he was throughout the whole of a long career, Wildman cannot be fairly set down as dishonest. Sexby, with far less ability, had all the courage and the earnestness that belong to the honest, although fanatical, enthusiast. Both could have subscribed to—if they did not actually share in the authorship of—the famous pamphlet entitled "Killing no Murder." To its tenets probably the majority of the Royalist party would in that day have given their assent. To give direct countenance to an assassination plot would have been alien at once to the feelings and the principles of Hyde.[1] To have denounced it publicly, or to

[1] Hyde mentions the pamphlet "Killing no Murder" in a letter to Nicholas, but only as a curiosity and as "a piece full of wit," without any judgment as to its doctrine. He speaks of it as a revelation and not as indicating any scheme to which he was privy (*Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 343).

have separated himself from all who held it to be justified, would have been both futile and impolitic. Cromwell had invoked the storm; it was not from his bitterest foes that he could expect protection from the thunderbolts. We must not forget that Hyde had distinct evidence that Cromwell encouraged similar designs against the King. The names of the agents and the means of detecting them were supplied to Hyde by his English correspondents. The King was to be attacked when he was "taking the air" with few attendants, and the assassins were to take horse to the next French garrison, where they were assured of security.[1]

Slow as were the movements of the Spanish Court, the treaty with Charles was at length arranged, and it materially improved the position of the King. He was now provided with a regular pension by Spain, and some of the straits for money, which had put a severe strain on Hyde's power of economy and his devices for raising revenue, were removed. Charles was now able to decline any further payments from France, and thus gained freedom to act independently of that power. He levied four regiments of foot, and was able to intervene with some effect for the defence of Flanders against the French armies under Turenne. At his instigation the Irish troops in the French service withdrew with their officers from the French camp; and the Duke of York threw up his French commission and joined the King at Bruges. Charles now found himself in a position where active warlike measures against Cromwell seemed more possible, and he was pressed with urgency by his friends at home to make a new attempt. Even his counsellers at Bruges became persuaded that the time was approaching for some greater activity; and in January,

[1] See *Clarendon State Papers*, iii. 336, 341, 397. Secretary Thurloe was said to have given the instructions personally.

$165\frac{8}{7}$, Ormonde determined personally to run the grave risk of a visit to England to take a measure of their hopes there. It was an heroic voyage, in which the chances of his escaping the lynx eyes of Cromwell's spies were but few; and Hyde strongly opposed the venture, which hazarded the life of the King's most powerful supporter. But Ormonde accomplished his mission in safety. For weeks he lay concealed in London, and managed to hold communications with the principal Royalists in England. He found the discontent against the Protector's Government as widespread as had been reported, and the zeal of the Royalists as keen. But these favourable signs were marred by mutual suspicions and the absence of any common plan. In such circumstances patience was the only wise policy. Matters were not yet ripe for what must be a final attempt. The Royalists must still, for a few months longer, wait until the King was provided with means for landing with a force sufficient to form a nucleus for any general rising, if that was to be attended with fair hope of success. Meanwhile the Royalists in England must concert plans amongst themselves.

Just at the time that Ormonde started on his perilous enterprise, Charles made another change in his Council. Herbert, the Lord Keeper, had been left behind when the King quitted Paris, taking the Great Seal into his own custody.[1] Herbert had since died, and the office of keeper was now vacant. In January, $165\frac{8}{7}$, Hyde was appointed —much against his own advice—to be at once Lord Keeper and Lord Chancellor. It was essential that, on the eve of a possible restoration, the great offices of the Crown should

[1] The Great Seal had been lost by the King at Worcester, having been in the King's own custody after the death of Sir Richard Lane, who had been the last Keeper under Charles I. After his escape, the King had another seal engraved, intending to keep it in his own custody so long as he was abroad. He had been persuaded by the Queen to confer the office on Herbert in 1655.

be filled, and should not be left to be the prey, at a critical moment, of the most unabashed applicants for reward.

Unwilling to be left inactive amid the clash of arms, Charles offered to join his own troops in the Spanish camp, and in spite of the remonstrances of Spain he carried out his intention. He was present at the earlier operations, and was in the thick of the fight at Dunkirk. If the scandals that touched his name might shake the faith of his devout adherents, he was resolved at least that lack of courage should never be laid to his account. Disaster dogged the Spanish arms; and in June Dunkirk fell to Turenne, and according to treaty was delivered to Cromwell in return for the help he had given to the French.

While Cromwell thus won new success abroad, his hands were full enough of trouble at home. By the exercise of his own authority he dismissed Lambert from the army, and lessened the overgrown power of the major-generals. But this did not check the progress of disaffection. The Cavaliers found new encouragement to plot in the seething of discontent around them. Cromwell could only use these new and thickening plots as a means of excusing his own severities, and stimulating the zeal of his adherents. A young gentleman of the family of the Earl of Mordaunt had been in communication with Ormonde during his visit to England, and was now arranging to send out commissions in the King's name. He was betrayed and arrested, and with two others, Sir Harry Slingsby and Dr. Hewett,[1] an Anglican clergyman, he was arraigned before a new High Court of Justice. He managed to elude conviction, much to Cromwell's undisguised anger; but both Slingsby and Hewett were condemned and executed. Other victims

[1] Dr. Hewett was the clergyman who had performed the marriage service, according to the Anglican rite, for Cromwell's daughters, the wives of Lord Rich and Lord Falconbridge.

followed, but the tide of conspiracy was only checked for the moment. The zeal of his opponents inspired them to court any danger in defiance of Cromwell's detested power.

Evidence of a new source of disaffection was now given in a long and eloquent address dispatched to Charles on behalf of the Anabaptists. It was a powerful appeal, in which the usual scriptural phraseology was strangely mixed with shrewd political reasoning. They took blame to themselves, and counted themselves as worthy to suffer from the visitation of divine wrath; but at the same time managed to hint at errors in the old Government that excused their action, and while they offered to fight for the restoration of the King, they coupled that offer, not undexterously, with bargaining for the maintenance of free government. The address was signed by Wildman, amongst others; and it is no rash conjecture to ascribe its authorship to his facile and effective pen. It was accompanied by a letter—probably also Wildman's own—which adopted a certain contemptuousness of tone in its allusions to the extravagant phraseology of the address, and tempered its heated appeals to scripture with more of worldly wisdom and political strategy. The writer described how he had combated the vain prejudices of the sectaries, and persuaded them to be guided by the dictates of reason; and how much hope he had that their aid might be effectually used to further the designs of the King. Wildman—if we are right in identifying him as the author of the letter and address—soon visited Bruges. His interview with the King and his ministers was satisfactory; and Wildman returned to England to prosecute his aims with new zeal, and with some confident hope of effective aid.

At the close of his brief campaign with the Spanish army, Charles retired from Brussels in August, and took up his residence at Hochstratten, on the borders of Flanders, within

six miles of Breda, where Hyde now was. Hyde had there a good opportunity of contrasting the poverty of the population in Flanders, subject to the unlicensed plunder of the Spanish troops, with the settled prosperity of the Dutch at Breda. It helped to convince him how unstable was the alliance to which Charles was at present fain to trust. The King's hopes were built upon a sorry foundation, if his restoration were to be accomplished only by the aid of the decaying power of Spain.

It was while Charles lingered here and waited for tidings of the wavering hopes and fears of his adherents that news reached him which mightily changed the situation. In the midst of his stern and successful fight with disaffection, Cromwell had met his conqueror. On September 3rd, 1658, after a fortnight's illness from tertian ague, the Lord Protector died. His death took place amidst a storm of wind that wrought havoc all along England's coast, and transcended any tempest within memory. The very elements seemed to be stirred to commotion at the passing of a power that by its own sheer force, and with no aid from accident or fortune, had shaped the history of a mighty people, and had dominated European politics. The great Dictator had time, before his death, to nominate his eldest son Richard as the successor of his rule. It remained to be seen whether such a bequest could be effective, when the genius that had founded that rule was gone.

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